



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

August 10, 2012

MR. TREVOR GRIFFEY
POST OFFICE BOX 2887
OLYMPIA, WA 98507 2887

Subject: FILE NUMBER 105-MAN-88 (MANILA LEGAT
FILE)

FOIPA No. 1179160- 000

Dear Mr. Griffey:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Deletions have been made to protect information which is exempt from disclosure, with the appropriate exemptions noted on the page next to the excision. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted in the file to indicate where pages were withheld entirely. The exemptions used to withhold information are marked below and explained on the enclosed Form OPCA-16a:

Section 552

Section 552a

☒ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (j)(2)

☒ (b)(3) 50 United States Code Section

☒ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

403-1(i)(1) National Security Act of 1947

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

And 50 United States Code Section 403g

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

☐ (k)(5)

☐ (b)(5)

☐ (b)(9)

☐ (k)(6)

☒ (b)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

304 page(s) were reviewed and 160 page(s) are being released.

☒ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning other Government agency(ies) [OGA]. This information has been:

☒ referred to the OGA for review and direct response to you.

☐ referred to the OGA for consultation. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is finished.

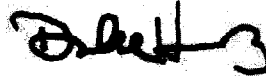
☐ In accordance with standard FBI practice, this response neither confirms nor denies the existence of your subject's name on any watch lists.

☒ You have the right to appeal any denials in this release. Appeals should be directed in writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy, U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001. Your appeal must be received by OIP within sixty (60) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

☐ The enclosed material is from the main investigative file(s) in which the subject(s) of your request was the focus of the investigation. Our search located additional references, in files relating to other individuals, or matters, which may or may not be about your subject(s). Our experience has shown, when ident, references usually contain information similar to the information processed in the main file(s). Because of our significant backlog, we have given priority to processing only the main investigative file(s). If you want the references, you must submit a separate request for them in writing, and they will be reviewed at a later date, as time and resources permit.

☒ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely yours,



David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

In response to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to Winchester, VA., enclosed is a processed copy of FBI Legat Office Manila file 105-MH-88.

To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Pursuant to your request that the release be made on CD-rom, the enclosed CD is being forwarded to you at no charge.

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATRUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Issue

(English Edition)

August 4, 1972

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EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE DELUGE IN LUZON

The deluge in Luzon brought about by four typhoons and monsoon rains has been the worst natural calamity in Philippine history. It has directly victimized at least three and a half million people and has inflicted damages amounting to P2.0 billion at the least. Hundreds of people have been confirmed dead through drowning, starvation, disease and lack of medical attention. Thousands of homes have been swept away. Crops and livestock, including work animals, have been destroyed. Those who have been hungry and soaked to the bones for almost four weeks of continuous rains are susceptible to disease.

We express our highest admiration for the various organizations and multitudes of donors which in fact have extended more relief to flood victims than the reactionary government which is supposed to have the funds, personnel and facilities at its disposal. We condemn the reactionary government and the reactionary classes for failing to give adequate relief to the flood victims. The small amount of relief goods distributed by the U.S.-Marcos clique has in the main been appropriated by reactionary troops, some BSDUs and local running dogs of this clique. Not even five per cent of the flood victims have received from the reactionary government food relief that is no more than a few hutribuns or a ganta of rice. Relief goods, including those solicited from private entities, have been delayed in Malacanang because they have to go through the needless process of being repacked into bags marked with the name of Imelda.

The concern of the U.S.-Marcos clique regarding the floods has gone only so far as to reap for itself some headlines and publicity pictures on the front pages of Manila newspapers. Long before the floods, this clique had exhausted the "calamity funds" for purposes other than serving the victims of natural calamities. The broad masses of the people detest the reactionary government and its imperialist and feudal masters for being in the first place responsible for plundering the forests and for letting a few old dikes to rot.

Before the typhoon season is out, it is unlikely that the reactionary government will be able to set up an effective flood control system. It is likely that the floods will come again to destroy efforts at replanting. When the dry season shall set in, the ravaging of the forests by the reactionaries will continue even as the parched earth will prevent second crops or alternate crops.

Public opinion is unanimously clear about the culpability of the reactionary government in the denudation of the forests and in the absence of an effective flood control system. It needs to be stressed that the biggest ravager of the forests in Luzon has been U.S. imperialism. More than 100,000 hectares of forest lands have been cleared in several decades to accommodate Clark Air Base on large sections of Pampanga, Tarlac, Bataan and Zambales. The large Subic Naval Base and U.S.-controlled mining firms have likewise been accommodated on large sections of the Zambales mountain range.

In the Quezon-Nueva Ecija sections of the Sierra Madre, the largest logging firm for many decades has been the U.S. firm managed by the Sorianos. In the central highlands of Northern Luzon, overlooking Pangasinan, the Ilocos provinces and Cagayan Valley, the biggest plunderers of the forests are the U.S. mining companies and the U.S. Heald Lumber Company.

Under the U.S. imperialist policy of counter-insurgency, the adjacent areas of Rizal, Laguna and Quezon have been deforested in order to create an artificial "counter-guerrilla ring of safety" around Manila-Rizal. Thus, the Laguna de Bay now easily overflows, flooding the farming and fishing villages and victimizing the peasants and fishermen of Laguna and Rizal. U.S.-owned industries have always taken the lead in polluting and clogging up the Pasig River. Thus, floods easily occur in the Manila-Rizal area, victimizing mainly the urban poor and petty bourgeoisie.

In the years to come, as people's war intensifies, U.S. imperialism is bound to destroy further the natural environment of the Filipino people. Massive deforestation and other forms of destruction will be undertaken against the people, as in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Right now, the reactionary armed forces under imperialist dictation have undertaken the bombardment of forests in the futile attempt to attack the heroic fighters of the New People's Army.

It is completely hypocritical for the U.S. government to extend to the flood victims some relief goods worth no more than \$25,000 or the Soriano enterprises some relief goods worth no more than ₱60,000. These U.S. imperialist entities have extracted profits running into billions of pesos by plundering the forests of Luzon for several decades. In comparison, the democratic mass organizations have done more valuable relief work by mobilizing their large memberships and masses of volunteers for the purpose. It is also worth mentioning that the People's Republic of China has sent through the Red Cross as relief aid 1,000 tons of rice, canned goods, medicine, clothing and blankets worth much more than ₱3.5 million at Philippine prices.

What has been pointed out by the reactionaries as the main culprits in the massive denudation of Philippine forests are the poor kaingineros. Their small patches, however, are extremely puny in comparison to the U.S. military bases, the logging concessions, mining concessions and grazing concessions which have destroyed the forests. In fact, the kaingineros usually move into a deforested area only after the big logging concessionaires have done their wanton work. As a social phenomenon, the kaingineros are a victim of feudalism on the lowlands; that is why they go upland to make kaingins in order to survive. But they are often driven out of their kaingins or converted into tenants or farm workers when the big landgrabbers (who are usually big bureaucrats and landlords) come around to put up big ranches, sugar plantations or coconut plantations.

The floods have served to exacerbate the people's suffering. The extensive loss of crops and livestock immediately means the aggravation of the oppression and exploitation of the peasant masses. The landlords and usurers will become more demanding, like vultures. For the people in general in the cities and in the countryside, it means grave food shortages and the skyrocketing of the prices of basic commodities. The rice fields of Central Luzon have been devastated. The economic crisis is bound to worsen as corrupt officials of the reactionary government and the reactionary classes that they represent draw profits for themselves on the heavy importation and sale of food, on foreign loans from the imperialist banks, on crop loans for landlords and on contracts for public works. No genuine relief and no genuine rehabilitation can ever be expected from the reactionary government. These can only serve as pretexts for increasing taxes that are ostensibly imposed on the wealthy but actually passed on to the toiling masses in the form of higher prices.

Despite the great damage done by the floods and the great need for relief and rehabilitation, the reactionary government continues to appropriate huge funds for its parasitic armed forces and for military operations against the broad masses of the people. As a matter of fact, a rider has been inserted into the calamity fund appropriation bill making it possible for the U.S.-Marcos clique to rechannel funds to the counter-revolutionary armed forces. This is on top of the ₱1.3 billion appropriation specifically designated for the reactionary armed forces for the current fiscal year.

The worsening of the economic crisis as a result of the floods means the worsening of the political crisis of the U.S.-Marcos clique and all reactionary classes in the country. After the deluge, the faggots dry up and kindle more easily. The U.S.-Marcos clique is now more than ever terrified by the people. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the various democratic mass organizations should work more vigorously to arouse, organize and mobilize the flood victims and the broad masses of the people against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Only the Filipino people can fight for their own salvation.

August 4, 1972

CHINA'S TEN CARDINAL PRINCIPLES ON AMENDING
"DECLARATION ON HUMAN ENVIRONMENT"

The spokesman of the Chinese Delegation to the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at the time of the meeting told a Hsinhua correspondent that ten main principles should be considered in revising the draft declaration. They were listed as follows:

"1. Relationship between economic development and environment conservation.

"Economic development and social progress are the indispensable prerequisite for the protection and improvement of the human environment. The urgent need for the developing countries at present is to develop their national economy, build a modern industry and a modern agriculture and achieve complete economic independence so as to safeguard and consolidate their national independence, and, under this prerequisite, to improve their environment step by step. Some highly developed countries, however, have seriously polluted their environment and even destroyed the environment of other countries and impaired the environment of the world. The condition and nature of the two are entirely different and must be treated with distinction.

"All countries have the right to shape their own environment policy in accordance with their own condition, but all of them should help promote the economic advancement of the developing countries and must not impair the interests of these countries.

"2. Relationship between population growth and environment conservation.

"Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. It is people who bring about social progress, create social wealth, develop science and technology, and, through their own industrious labour, continuously transform the human environment. The history of man has proved that the pace of development of production, science and technology always surpasses the rate of population growth. In the course of social progress and with the development of production, science and technology, mankind can create an ever greater amount of wealth to meet the needs of its own subsistence and development and is entirely capable of improving its environment ever more effectively. It is wholly groundless to hold a pessimistic view in respect to the relationship between population growth and environment conservation. Of course, the natural growth of population will bring new problems to the protection of the environment. But such problems can be solved if a government truly takes the interests of its people to heart and adopts such correct principles and measures as rational planning for the distribution of urban and rural population in the course of the development of the national economy, appropriate control of the urban population, greater efforts to protect and improve city environment and popularization of family planning.

"3. War and environment protection.

"Imperialist wars of aggression have brought the greatest destruction to the human environment. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have made use of the highest achievements in modern technology to brutally massacre millions upon millions of people, destroy the culture and civilization of man and devastate the human environment, thus causing unparalleled disaster to mankind. All peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people must act unswervingly to condemn and halt aggressive war launched by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

For the purpose of protecting mankind and the human environment, there must be a resolute prohibition on the use and complete destruction of inhuman bio-chemical weapons which seriously destroy and pollute the environment, complete prohibition and total destruction of nuclear weapons, and as the first step, demand that all the nuclear powers reach a solemn agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons at any time and under any circumstances.

"4. The social cause of environment pollution.

"At present, in quite a number of areas of the world the human environment is contaminated and damaged, even causing serious harm to the public in some of the areas. We hold that the main social cause for this state of affairs is that, as capitalism has developed into imperialism, the monopoly capitalist groups, which seek superprofits under conditions of serious anarchy in production, discharge at will and in disregard of the fate of the people harmful substances that pollute and poison the environment. The superpowers in particular, which pursue their imperialist policies of plunder, aggression and war, have destroyed the human environment even more seriously.

"5. The protection of natural resources.

"All countries have the right to exploit and utilize their natural resources in accordance with the needs of their economic development and to protect their natural resources from destruction. Resolute efforts should be made to oppose the destructive exploitation of the natural resources of the developing countries by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the purpose of plunder. Resolute support should be given to the just actions taken by the victim countries to apply sanctions against those who plunder and cause the destruction.

"6. Fight against pollution.

"All governments should adopt measures to prohibit the discharge of poisonous materials which are detrimental to the human environment and to public health, and to find ways and means to solve the question. Firm support should be given to the just struggles of all peoples fighting against pollution and for a cleaner environment.

"7. Compensation for international pollution.

"All countries have the right to protect their environment from pollution from outside. Any victim country whose environment is seriously polluted and poisoned by harmful substances discharged or dumped at will by another country is entitled to claim compensation from the culprit country.

"8. International exchanges in scientific and technical knowledge on environment conservation.

"All governments should make vigorous efforts to apply and develop science and technology for the protection and improvement of the environment. Advanced scientific and technical knowledge in this field should not be monopolized by one or two countries, but should be popularized and imparted gratis to the countries in need of it, in particular to the developing countries, so as to help improve the human environment.

"9. International environment fund--its establishment and use.

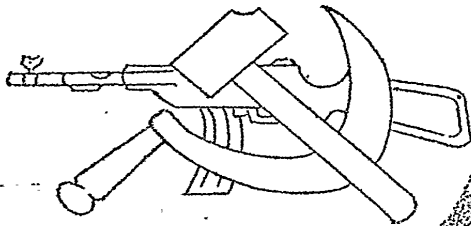
"A fund should be raised for international action to protect and improve the environment. It should be furnished by the major industrially developed countries, especially countries which seriously pollute the international environment.

"10. International co-operation in the conservation of the human environment.

"Widespread international co-operation, including regional co-operation, in the improvement of the environment should be advocated, with respect to the sovereignty of all countries as a prerequisite. All forms of co-operation and all actions in this field should be done in the spirit of full consultation among nations, big or small, on an equal footing. No country should be allowed to encroach on the sovereignty of another country, interfere in its internal affairs and undermine its interests under the pretext of protecting the environment."

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

Special Release

(English Edition)

August 5, 1972

SEVEN BSDU MEMBERS JOIN THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

Seven members of the Barrio Self-Defense Unit of Bo. San Francisco, Concepcion, Tarlac joined the New People's Army on July 18, 1972, bringing with them carbines and several rounds of ammunition and magazines. The former BSDU members were officials of the said barrio, which included the barrio captain and six barrio councilors.

In a signed statement, they expressed their disillusionment over the reactionary armed forces which make use of the BSDU in oppressing the peasant masses, instead of performing their alleged role of protecting the people. They cited several reasons for their decision to join the New People's Army. The statement reads:

July 18, 1972

To our countrymen,

We BSDU members of Bo. San Francisco, Concepcion, Tarlac, which include the barrio captain and council members, leave the reactionary armed forces of the government to join the New People's Army, the true army of the people.

We leave because we cannot bear anymore the oppression of the decadent state and the cruelty of its reactionary army which used us to create trouble, hurt, kill, extort from and harass the people, and suppress the rising masses led by the New People's Army which is guided by the party of the poor (the Communist Party of the Philippines).

We have awakened to the truth that the reactionary army is not the true army of the people but only an instrument of the exploiting classes against our poor class brothers, and we have come to learn that it would be against the interests of the exploited classes if we continue to be the lackeys of the exploiters.

We bring with us carbines and several rounds of ammunition and magazines to voluntarily join the struggle of our poor class brothers against the foreign tyrannical oppressors, the U.S. imperialists, against the landlords and against the corrupt bureaucrats, in order to achieve the most cherished emancipation of the oppressed classes.

We call on our countrymen and poor brothers to analyze our condition and refrain from being used as instruments of the oppressors, and fight all oppressor classes!

We the undersigned voluntarily and wholeheartedly join the New People's Army.

1. Mariano Vergara--Barrio Captain
2. Tiburcio Santos--Councilman
3. Felix Mercado--Councilman
4. Federico Gutierrez--Councilman
5. Pablito Priones--Councilman
6. Diosdado Salta--Councilman
7. Filomeno Canlas--Councilman

Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

* * *

July 18, 1964

Sa aming mga kababagyan,

Kaming mga Taalun ng PSD ng Bayan, Francisco, Concepcion, Farlee na finalidatagan ng Bayan kapitan ang mga konsehal, ay tumakas mula sa napagpapangyong hukbo ng pamahalaan para mabuhay sa buong buhay ng mga mamamayan, ang pagpapalagan ng Hukbong Bayan.

Ugustista namin ang pagpapalagan dahil hindi na namin maitatag ang ginagawang pang-ayon ng buong bayan at ng kapitan ng napagpapangyong hukbo mula. Kalidad ng pagpapalagan na aming ipang magkakatig ng pagpapalagan, manapit manapit, mungkil at mamamayan sa mga taalunang, at ang pang-ayon sa aming ipang magkakatig ang magkakatig mamamayan sa pangungamang ng pagpapalagan ng Hukbong Bayan na pinagpapalagan ng partado ng mahihirap.

Dahil dito ay namaklat kami sa katataganang hindi namin ang buong buhay ng mamamayan kundi karaming pagpapalagan ang magpapalaganang ay dahil sa aming mga karaming mahihirap, at napag-ayon namin sa katatagan na pagpapalagan ng mga aming mahihirap pang ipagpapalagan namin ang pang-ayon sa aming.

Dahil namin sa pagpapalagan ang mga taalun sa buong bayan at sa aming kata at magkakatig pang-ayon ng bayan na aming mga karaming mahihirap buong na magkakatig na magkakatig magkakatig na magkakatig aming mga pang-ayon magkakatig, at buong na pagpapalagan, at pang-ayon magkakatig pang-ayon. Karaming pagpapalagan ng aming ipang-ayon.

Pinagpapalagan namin ang aming mga kababagyan at mga pagpapalagan na mahihirap na aming natin ang katatagan at buong pang-ayon pagpapalagan sa mga magkakatig, at katatagan ang katatagan ng aming pang-ayon.

Komunista ng Pagan ng walang pag-aalangan.

1. MARIANO VELGATA - BO. CAPTAIN - Mariano Velgata
2. FIDELIO SANTOS - COUNCILMAN - Fidelio Santos
3. FELIX MERCADO - COUNCILMAN - Felix Mercado
4. FEDERICO GUTIERREZ - COUNCILMAN - Federico Gutierrez
5. PABLO PRIENES - COUNCILMAN - Pablo Prienes
6. DIONISIO SALTA - COUNCILMAN - Dionisio Salta
7. FILIPINO CALAB - COUNCILMAN - Filipino Calab

Malakap ang Pagan ng Hapong Pagan

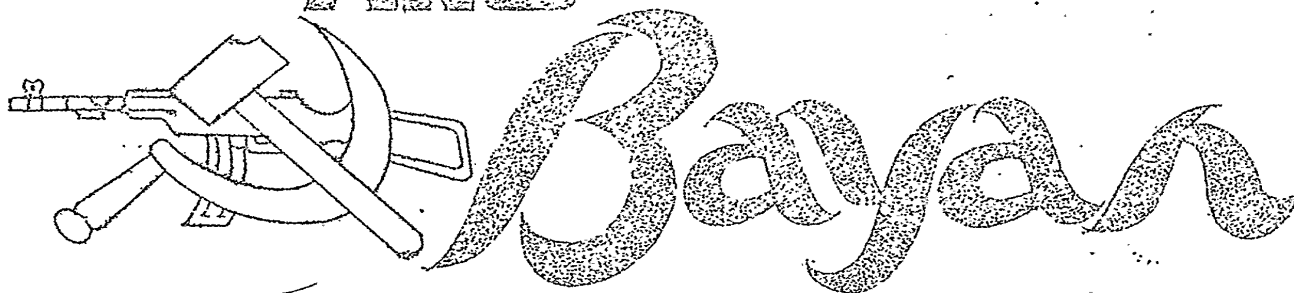
Malakap ang Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas

Malakap ang Pamantasan Demokratikong
Rebolusyon ng Pagan

Itagap ang imperyalismo, kapitalismo,
at kumprata kapitalismo

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



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Published by the
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
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Before the typhoon season is out, it is unlikely that the reactionary government will be able to set up an effective flood control system. It is likely that the floods will come again to destroy efforts at replanting. When the dry season shall set in, the ravaging of the forests by the reactionaries will continue even as the parched earth will prevent second crops or alternate crops. Concurrent with the deluge in Luzon, Mindanao is in the grip of a drought. This other calamity is also forthcoming in Luzon.

Public opinion is unanimously clear about the culpability of the reactionary government in the denudation of the forests and in the absence of an effective flood control system. It needs to be stressed that the biggest ravager of the forests in Luzon has been U.S. imperialism. More than 100,000 hectares of forest lands have been cleared in several decades to accommodate Clark Air Base on large sections of Pampanga, Tarlac, Bataan and Zambales. The large Subic Naval Base and U.S.-controlled mining firms have likewise been accommodated on large sections of the Zambales mountain range.

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Under the U.S. imperialist policy of counter-insurgency, the adjacent areas of Rizal, Laguna and Quezon have been deforested in order to create an artificial "counter-guerrilla ring of safety" around Manila-Rizal. Thus, the Laguna de Bay

Despite the great damage done by the floods and the great need for relief and rehabilitation, the reactionary government continues to appropriate huge funds for its parasitic armed forces and for military operations against the broad masses of the people. As a matter of fact, a rider has been inserted into the calamity fund appropriation bill making it possible for the U.S.-Marcos clique to rechannel funds to the counter-revolutionary armed forces. This is on top of the \$1.2 billion appropriation specifically designated for the reactionary armed forces for the current fiscal year.

The worsening of the economic crisis as a result of the floods means the worsening of the political crisis of the U.S.-Marcos clique and all reactionary classes in the country. After the deluge, the faggots dry up and kindle more easily. The U.S.-Marcos clique is now more than ever terrified by the people. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the various democratic mass organizations should work more vigorously to arouse, organize and mobilize the flood victims and the broad masses of the people against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Only the Filipino people can fight for their own salvation.

August 4, 1972

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NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF "ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION"
IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 TO MAY 1972

The New People's Army successfully thwarted the biggest campaign of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the reactionary armed forces in Northern Luzon from November of last year to May of this year. In this enemy campaign, the New People's Army scored significant victories, annihilating more than 250 enemy troops which included 92 confirmed dead and more than 162 wounded, seizing several arms and ammunitions and destroying several enemy outposts and transportation and communications equipment.

With this campaign, the U.S.-Marcos clique had vainly hoped to destroy the guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones, deprive the New People's Army of mass support and eventually smash it. The reactionary armed forces employed several thousand enemy troops which included the entire "Task Force Lawin", the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 10th and 11th Infantry Battalions, the entire forces of the PC Provincial Commands of Isabela, Cagayan, Quirino and Nueva Vizcaya, "scout rangers" and "trainees and special forces" from Fort Magsaysay. They also secured the services of the Lavaite agents and the BSDUs in the region.

For the first time in Northern Luzon, the U.S. imperialists employed American military personnel to participate in the campaign. More than 50 of them were reported in the company of the local reactionary troops obviously to help in planning and communications. These had been landed by Clark Air Base helicopters at Cordon, Isabela sometime last May.

The six-month enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" covered more than 90 per cent of the guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases in Northern Luzon and passed through three stages.

The first stage covered the second week of November 1971 up to the second week of February 1972. In this stage, the enemy used "harassing" tactics against the NPA units in guerrilla zones in the provinces adjoining Isabela in the attempt to "pursue" and "drive away" the Red fighters towards the province of Isabela.

The second stage began on the second week of February and ended on the second week of April 1972. In this stage, the enemy planned to launch piecemeal operations of "sweeping up" and "searching and destroying". By such tactics, the reactionary armed forces hoped to drive the guerrilla squads from the plains and fringes of the forest area towards the Isabela forest and the Sierra Madre mountains. Despite enemy actions, the First Regional Party Conference of Northern Luzon was successfully held in Isabela.

The third stage began on the second week of April and lasted up to the end of May. The enemy placed blockades around Isabela, employed the "acreage" tactics in their "killing zones" and concentrated a big force to enter the Isabela section of the Sierra Madre mountains.

Throughout the enemy military campaign, the New People's Army, enjoying the support of the broad masses of the people, broke through the tight enemy encirclement, employed flexible tactics, utilized its mastery of the terrain and took the initiative in annihilating small and isolated enemy units. The rich experience that it gained in the fierce revolutionary struggle served to temper the Red fighters and the people and also paved the way for the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary guerrilla areas.

A Record of Significant Victories

Firmly holding the gun and persevering in revolutionary armed struggle, the Red commanders and fighters chalked up a record of significant victories, among which are the following:

On December 9, 1971, during the first stage of the enemy campaign, a "sparrow unit" (simbad) of the New People's Army attacked the "Advanced Command Post" of the "Task Force Lawin" in Echague, Isabela, killing and wounding 10 enemy troops, partially destroying the camp building and enemy communications equipment.

On December 11, another "sparrow unit" launched a night attack on the enemy army camp in Cauayan, Isabela, killing at least 20 reactionary troops and wounding more than 30, and destroying the enemy camp. On the same day, an NPA squad attacked a BSDU camp in Comun, Aritao, Nueva Vizcaya, killing six reactionary troops and wounding many as well as destroying enemy communications equipment.

On February 29, 1972, during the second stage of the enemy campaign, an encounter took place between an NPA platoon and an enemy unit in Bo. Madadamian, Echague, Isabela. The Red fighters killed two enemy troops and wounded three others. They also captured M-79 and M-16 ammunitions and other military equipment.

On March 16, in order to break through an enemy encirclement, an NPA squad fought an enemy platoon in Bo. San Rafael, San Guillermo, Isabela, killing one and seriously wounding five enemy troops.

On March 24, an encounter took place between an NPA squad and an enemy platoon in Sitio Cabaswagan, Bo. Limbawan, San Pablo, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and seven others were wounded.

On March 28, while a unit of Red women fighters was conducting a mass meeting in Bo. Dicamay, San Mariano, Isabela, an enemy helicopter loaded with enemy troops arrived obviously for a raid mission. Before it could land, the courageous women fighters opened fire and damaged the helicopter, sending it scampering away. The Red women fighters had quickly moved away before ground troops could arrive.

On April 13, 1972, during the third stage of the enemy campaign, an NPA platoon led by Comrade Crispin Tagamolila attacked a BSDU-Army camp in Bos. Minuri and Napaliong, Jones, Isabela. In two well-coordinated attacks, the Red fighters annihilated an enemy platoon, with eight killed and 13 wounded, seriously damaged the enemy camp, destroyed an enemy armored car and other communications equipment.

On April 18, an NPA squad ambushed an enemy squad in Benito Soliven, Isabela. Three enemy troops were killed and five others were wounded. On that same day, an enemy squad tried to capture a Red fighter in Bo. Dagupan, Benito Soliven, Isabela. Two enemy troops pursued the Red fighter while the rest positioned themselves along the road for an ambush. The Red fighter nimbly eluded the ambushing forces and lured the two pursuing enemy troops into the ambush site. A fierce exchange of fire ensued between the two groups of enemy soldiers. Two enemy troops died in the shoot-out.

On May 4, a group of Red fighters attacked a platoon of enemy troops at Didin Creek in Bo. Dicamay, San Mariano, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and more than 10 others were seriously wounded.

MILITARIZATION AND FASCIZATION MOUNTS
AND THE SPECTRE OF MARTIAL LAW LOOMS

Militarization and fascization is mounting. To cap off this evil trend, the U.S.-Marcos clique is making preparations for a nationwide declaration of martial law. In large parts of the country, in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, martial law has already become a reality. Here the reactionary troops under such sobriquets as Task Force "Saranay", "Talna", "Banahaw", "Isarog", "Hiligaynon", "Pagkakaisa" and "Pagari" and "paramilitary units" such as ESDUs, "Monkees" and provincial "strike forces" engage in extortions, detain, torture and kill people without the least bothering about legal niceties. Even without the formal declaration of martial law, the Anti-Subversion Law has been used to round up people in the futile attempt to suppress the revolutionary mass movement and the various forms of democratic protest.

Upon the instructions of the U.S.-Marcos clique, the Judge Advocate General's Office and the Justice Department have made study papers recommending the nationwide declaration of martial law. The former's study papers make the specific recommendation that the declaration of martial law be made just before the 1973 elections. In this light, it is clear why the U.S.-Marcos clique is indefatigably fabricating bombing incidents and shoot-outs in the Manila-Rizal area and yakking about "foreign-supported communist plans" related to these. This clique is bent on reproducing the second Plaza Miranda massacre and disrupting democratic mass actions (rallies, demonstrations and strikes) to create the atmosphere for the nationwide declaration of martial law. Marcos obviously imagines that, even without him or his wife running for any public office, he can retain power through the brazen use of the military establishment in which his clique is well-entrenched.

The reactionary armed forces are now securely under the command of close kinsmen and personal friends of Marcos. Upon his assumption as puppet president, Marcos himself assumed the functions of defense secretary and established in detail an arrangement by which the various military services would be under the command of his kinsmen and personal friends for at least a decade and then, of course, thereafter.

Under the U.S.-Marcos clique, the military budget has soared from a level of ₱274,966,000 (1965-66 fiscal year) to ₱1.2 billion (1972-73 fiscal year). This constitutes an increase about five times over, far outstripping budget increases for education, health, agriculture, social welfare and other departments. The present figure for the military budget, already constituting more than 20 per cent of the entire national budget, is quite misleading inasmuch as U.S. puppet chieftain Marcos has retained his prerogative of transferring funds to the reactionary armed forces from such budgetary items as contingent, calamity, consultants', rural improvement and community development funds. Under the guise of "civic action", the reactionary armed forces also bite into the health, agriculture and public works budgets.

Within the next five years, military appropriations are bound to outstrip all other budgetary appropriations. In conformity to the "Nixon doctrine" which dictates on colonies and semi-colonies to make more military expenditures from their own tax collections and foreign borrowings, the U.S.-Marcos clique has adopted the policy of using within the next five years the special fund of ₱1.5 billion for a "self-defense posture" whose main characteristics are rapid troop increases, puppet "counter-insurgency" training and building a "military-industrial complex" (a flimsy cover for heavier purchases of military materiel from U.S. munitions makers). The 1972 troop level of 63,548 is slated to rise to the level of 83,091 in 1977, enjoying the most modern weapons, communications and support systems. With utmost emphasis on training in "home defense" centers, the number of reserves is slated to rise from the 1972 level of 16,600 to 96,063 in 1977.

The process of militarization and fascization is discernible not only from the open use of brute military force and the huge military budgets but also from the assumption by military officers of government offices previously reserved for civilian personnel and in turn the rush of reactionary civilian officials to apply for ranks in the reactionary armed forces.

ERRATUM

Last sentence of the fourth paragraph on page 7 should read:

"These troops in turn fall under such specific commands as those of the Presidential Guards Battalion, Presidential Security Unit, Metrocom and the Philippine Marines."

Under martial law, many officials of the Department of Justice and the Department of Public Works and Communications have applied for military ranks. The P.C. Office of Community Relations has been in a frenzy offering military ranks to civilian government employees and leading personalities all over the country. It hopes to use them as tools for espionage and propaganda against the revolutionary mass movement.

To augment the build-up of the reactionary armed forces, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the A.I.D. Office of Public Safety have stepped up the indoctrination, training and equipment of the Philippine Constabulary and police agencies all over the country, especially in the Manila-Rizal area and in other cities and towns where the revolutionary mass movement has become strong. With the full encouragement of the Marcos gang, the two sinister agencies of U.S. imperialism are using the Police Commission to put all police agencies, including Metrocom, U.I.O.G. and the National Bureau of Investigation, to "counter-insurgency" work.

Terrified by the people, the U.S. puppet chieftain Marcos is under direct and constant guard by 4,100 troops under the Presidential Security Command. These troops in turn fall under the various specific commands of the Presidential Guards.

The black trend of militarization and fascization unleashed by the U.S.-Marcos clique is a sign of weakness rather than of strength. The formal declaration of martial law and Marcos' retention of power beyond 1973 will only serve to bring the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses of the people to a new and higher level rather than to weaken it.

U.S. TOOLS OF SUBVERSION ARE EXPOSED

From the start of his term in 1966, the puppet chieftain Marcos has subversively sought direction and assistance from his U.S. imperialist masters on various government projects, whether economic, political, cultural or military. Such is his puppetry to U.S. imperialism that he falls under the sway of the U.S. "country team" headed by the U.S. ambassador.

This "country team" is a coordinating agency for the subversive activities of various U.S. agencies in the Philippines and is composed of the U.S. ambassador, the C.I.A. chief of station, the U.S. A.I.D. director, the U.S.I.A. director and the JUSMAG chief. The existence of this subversive team in the Philippines is acknowledged in "special forces" manuals. In confirming this fact before the constitutional convention recently, delegate Bonifacio Gillego who was formerly a top ranking official of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency (Philippine counterpart of the C.I.A.) described the U.S. embassy as the "headquarters of counter-revolution" in the Philippines.

Several "country teams" are strategically distributed all over Asia, Africa and Latin America, areas where national liberation movements are powerful threats

Military officers now occupying strategic civilian offices are: Philippine Navy Commander Alejandro Melchor, Jr., Executive Secretary; Brig. Gen. Vicente Raval, Bureau of Prisons; Col. Manuel Syquiao, Public Works and Communications, latter Philcomsat; Brig. Gen. Cesar Jimenez, Philippine National Railways; Brig. Gen. Pelagio Cruz, Anti-Smuggling Action Center; Maj. Gen. Gaudencio Tobias, National Housing Corporation; Brig. Gen. Sergio Isada, Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System; Brig. Gen. Jonas Victoria, National Civil Defense Administration; Col. Jolly Bugarin, National Bureau of Investigation; Gen. Manuel Yan, Ambassador to Thailand; Brig. Gen. Crispin de Castro, Police Commission; Brig. Gen. Felizardo Tanabe, Bureau of Posts; Brig. Gen. Ceferino Carreon, Radio Control Office; Brig. Gen. Jesus Singson, Civil Aeronautics Administration; Gen. Florencio Medina, National Science Development Board; Brig. Gen. Marte Iglesias, Bureau of Supplies; and Commodore Santiago Naval, Ports and Harbor Administration.

Being among the first to know the plan of the U.S.-Marcos clique to declare martial law, many officials of the Department of Justice and the Department of Public Works and Communications have applied for military ranks. The P.C. Office of Community Relations has been in a frenzy offering military ranks to civilian government employees and leading personalities all over the country. It hopes to use them as tools for espionage and propaganda against the revolutionary mass movement.

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Several "country teams" are strategically distributed all over Asia, Africa and Latin America, areas where national liberation movements are powerful threats to U.S. imperialism. These teams serve as the nuclei of the U.S. imperialist net-

work for subversion and counter-revolution. Officially, the "country team" in the Philippines belongs to the U.S. State Department's Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs which is responsible for handling diplomatic and other relations with the countries of the vast area ranging from Korea in the northeast down to Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand and on to Burma in the southwest.

Delegate Gillego concentrated on exposing the U.S. A.I.D. "police assistance" program as one of the subversive projects of the U.S. "country team" in the Philippines and denounced the U.S.-Marcos clique as a shameless accomplice in its establishment. This program is part of a global project designed to militarize and mercenarize the police forces of puppet states for the protection of U.S. imperialist interests. Under the guise of a "public safety" program, the A.I.D.-manufactured "Police Plan for 1971-72" proposes police assistance to Laos, Thailand and the Philippines. The program proposes the development of "self-sufficiency" in the police forces purportedly for more effective "law enforcement" and "maintenance of public order" and for combatting "Communist-inspired or exploited subversion and insurgency". Beneficiaries of this program are the P.C.; Metrocom, N.B.I. and city and municipal police departments.

The Office of Public Safety (now the most powerful office of the A.I.D.), in answer to a "request" by Marcos for assistance on law enforcement in 1966, made the so-called "Survey of Philippine Law Enforcement" otherwise known as the "Walton Report". This survey was accomplished in 1967 by a team of C.I.A. agents posing as "public safety" advisers headed by Frank E. Walton (a notorious C.I.A. agent then operating in Saigon). One outstanding recommendation of the "Walton Report" is the utilization of the facilities of the Security Training Center (S.T.C.) for training law enforcement officers in counter-subversion, counter-guerrilla and psychological warfare. The S.T.C. was once described by C.I.A. agent Edward Lansdale in a Pentagon memorandum as an entity "overtly operated by the Philippine government and covertly sponsored by the U.S. government through the C.I.A. as the instrument of the Country Team".

Other O.P.S. activities include training of police officers of puppet states at the International Police Academy (I.P.A.), sending "public safety" advisers to other countries to train rank-and-file policemen and providing communications equipment, weapons, chemical munitions, computers and the like to puppet police forces.

What U.S. imperialism claims to be the U.S. A.I.D. "police assistance" program is nothing but an integral part of the "Nixon doctrine" of "making Asians fight Asians" and making Asian puppet countries spend heavily for military forces and operations. Pretending to help stamp out crime by "developing" local police forces, it in fact attempts to turn these into protectors of U.S. imperialist interests actively engaged in counter-insurgency activities.

Complementing such activities of the O.P.S. are the activities of the propaganda arm of U.S. imperialism--the U.S. Information Agency (U.S.I.A.)--which is directly administered by the U.S. State Department. The printing plant of the U.S.I.A., considered the "world's biggest printing plant", is located at Roxas Boulevard. In charge of this is the Regional Service Center (R.S.C.), which is an integral part of the U.S. embassy. R.S.C. prints propaganda materials in 11 languages for the economic, political, military and cultural offensives of U.S. imperialism in Asia. It also provides psywar materials in support of its wars of aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As U.S. imperialism desperately tries to maintain and preserve its power, it frantically unleashes subversion campaigns against the fast-rising national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Seemingly well-coordinated and sophisticated activities of such subversive tools as the C.I.A. and the A.I.D. are therefore merely the last gasps of U.S. imperialism on the way to total collapse. Revolution being the main trend in the world today, U.S. imperialist attempts at subversion cannot but be doomed to utter failure.

PUPPET CHIEFTAIN MARCOS FLOATS ~~OF~~ "RENEGOTIATIONS" ON MILITARY AGREEMENTS
TO PERPETUATE U.S. IMPERIALIST VIOLATION OF PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY

In his "Independence Day" speech on June 12, puppet chieftain Marcos, through his fellow bureaucrat capitalist Lopez, vaguely called for a "review" and "renegotiation" of the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement. This is nothing but a mockery of the people's demand for the dismantling of U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the immediate abrogation of all military treaties and agreements with the United States.

It is utterly hypocritical for Marcos to babble about "liberation from foreign influence and control" and at the same time shamelessly beg for the "renegotiation" of these military agreements and treaties with U.S. imperialism. Such a "renegotiation" still rests on the counter-revolutionary position that U.S. military bases and U.S. military aid are still needed in the Philippines against "foreign aggression" and "internal subversion". It deliberately obscures the fact that these military treaties and agreements are themselves glaring negations of Philippine independence.

A "renegotiation" conference between the U.S. imperialist masters and their Filipino puppets can only turn into a one-sided briefing session where the former dictate the terms and where the latter beg for "concessions" that will only result in the further strengthening of U.S. control of the Philippines. Over and above the quibbling on terms and superficial concessions, what will remain basically assumed by both panels is that the U.S. military bases and U.S. military aid should continue to operate in the Philippines for U.S. imperialist interests.

A "renegotiation" on the Military Bases Agreement, a treaty extorted by U.S. imperialism from the Filipino people in 1947 through the instrumentality of the Roxas puppet regime, can only come up at the most with such "concessions" to the Philippine puppet government as the granting of minor taxation rights and some double-bladed phrases on the question of criminal cases involving U.S. soldiers and other military personnel outside the bases and the institution of some paltry fixed rental on the use of the bases. It has always been the standard reactionary argument that U.S. military bases are a source of dollar earnings in the form of dollar expenditures by U.S. military personnel and wages earned by Filipinos employed in the bases. It is however common knowledge that these so-called "advantages" are mere sops to favor a few bureaucrat capitalists and Filipino contractors and are rendered meaningless if weighed against the stark reality that these bases serve as protection for U.S. economic interests and guarantee of continued remittance of superprofits to the United States. Regarding the issue of criminal jurisdiction, it is sheer illusion to expect the local courts to effectively demand respect of Philippine laws inasmuch as the existence of U.S. military bases carries with it the enjoyment of extraterritorial rights through which U.S. imperialism has flaunted Philippine sovereignty with impunity.

In "renegotiating" the Military Assistance Pact, another military agreement entered into by the Roxas puppet regime with U.S. imperialism in 1947, the puppet panel can be expected to beg for the substitution of the JUSMAG with an AFP military mission in the United States that will in fact be a mere purchasing team for U.S. military arms and equipment. It should be noted that U.S. military "aid" under the Military Assistance Pact is actually in the form of lent arms under continuing control of the JUSMAG. The proposal to replace the JUSMAG (which gobbles up about \$800,000 of the people's money annually) with an AFP purchasing team is merely falling in with the U.S. imperialist demand that the Philippines should pay for military "aid". Furthermore, the puppet panel may demand that some accommodation be given to other monopoly capitalists such as the Japanese militarists from which the puppet government can procure arms and other military supplies and which can extend financial help in the development of local armament production. Whether the Philippine reactionary government relies solely on the United States or whether it decides to ask help from other imperialist powers, the fact remains that the military "aid" that it receives is for the protection of the ruling system against "subversion" and "insurrection".

The U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Treaty, which was negotiated with the Quirino puppet regime, is a superfluous document that can be totally scrapped without the least diminution of U.S. imperialist power over the Philippines. However, if "renegotiation" is to be made, the puppet panel can be expected to do its worst by begging for the inclusion of an "automatic retaliation" clause, a totally absurd and nonsensical demand inasmuch as U.S. imperialism never hesitates to launch aggression against the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America whenever its interests are gravely threatened.

In order to project an image of "asserting independence", the puppet panel can come up with the idea of substituting the concept of "definite treaty duration" with that of "indefinite treaty duration". Under this arrangement, no definite duration would be provided for in the treaties and the treaties would remain effective until a certain time, one year for example, after the receipt by either side of notification of the intention of the other side to terminate them. What can certainly happen under such a provision is that a declaration of intention by the Philippine puppet government to "terminate" the treaties can only be an occasion for it to beg for another "renegotiation" to iron out minor kinks in what is basically an imperialist-puppet relation. "Indefinite treaty duration" therefore merely serves perpetual "renegotiations" and actually allows U.S. imperialism to indefinitely hold on to its military bases in the Philippines.

The Marcos fascist puppet clique is so badly shaken by the revolutionary upheavals that it is now desperately pushing towards militarization. More than ever, it needs U.S. imperialist aid and support in its vain attempt to stifle the ever-widening popular opposition to its brutal fascist rule. As the Philippines which aside from being non-industrialized is inextricably bogged down in an economic and financial crisis, the military authorities have hinged the financing of the government's militarization program on foreign assistance and higher taxation. When Marcos brags about maintaining a "self-reliant defense posture", he is merely echoing the "Nixon doctrine" under which U.S. imperialism sells military arms and equipment and extends military training to the Philippine reactionary armed forces while the Marcos puppet regime supplies the manpower to suppress the Philippine revolutionary movement.

It is clear to all that the standard reactionary ploy of calling for "renegotiation", "review" and "study" of unequal treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism only serves to perpetuate U.S. imperialist transgression of Philippine sovereignty and independence and aggravate the oppression and exploitation of the people. As the aggressive features of U.S. imperialism become clearer to the people, the demand for the immediate dismantling of U.S. military bases and the immediate abrogation of all military treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism gains wider support. The broad masses of the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, will eventually smash all the shackles imposed by U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs and establish a truly independent and democratic Philippines.

* * *

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION WILL BLAST TO PIECES U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE'S "SELF-RELIANT DEFENSE PLAN" AND "CITIZEN ARMY"

Terrified by the irresistible advance of national liberation movements in the Philippines and elsewhere in Asia and driven to the wall by the worsening crisis of U.S. imperialism, the Marcos fascist puppet regime has in the last few months frantically made preparations to institute a "self-reliant defense program" and "citizen army" worthy of the style of its dictatorial kindred in Southeast Asia (Thieu, Lon Nol, Suharto and the like). The double-pronged program, made to appear as if it emanated straight from the drafting tables of Malacanang's Harvard-trained technocrats, has revealed itself to be nothing but a component part of the futile designs of U.S. imperialism to maintain its economic, political, military and cultural stranglehold in Asia.

In fact, the fraudulent "self-reliant defense plan" and the bogus "citizen army concept" have for father none other than the "Nixon doctrine", which was announced as early as July 1969 and, in the words of one bourgeois weekly, "emphasizes America's intention to maintain its treaty commitments, but to insist that other countries do more for their own defense, individually and regionally, especially in meeting their military manpower requirements".

In other words, euphemisms aside, U.S. imperialism, faced with the rising tide of the revolutionary movement in its homegrounds and therefore unable to suck more blood and money from the American people, has come up with another desperate scheme to save itself from doom. This scheme is two-pronged, the first being to "make Asians fight Asians", the second being to make Asian puppet countries spend more heavily for military forces and operations.

An indispensable component of the "Nixon doctrine", the U.S.-Marcos regime's "program" for the Philippines is also double-pronged. On one hand, to satisfy U.S. imperialism's death-bed wish of "making Asians fight Asians", it offers a "citizen" puppet army, beefed up from an original 63,548 to more than 83,000 troops and complete with such trimmings as brainwashing in fascist military tactics and the creation of paramilitary units under the guise of "citizenship training for defense". On the other hand, to relieve U.S. imperialism of making critical military expenditures and to allow it to amass more profits on its military sales, it prates about a "self-reliant defense posture", which is nothing more than an attempt to make a puppet country like the Philippines spend more heavily for military forces and operations.

The fake "self-reliant defense program", the details of which minor puppet and C.I.A. agent Juan Ponce Enrile had to get from Washington in February this year, is as fraudulent as the U.S.-Marcos clique's "progressive car-manufacturing program". Designed as an initial step toward the building of a "military-industrial complex" controlled by U.S. imperialist interests, it will involve the re-assembly and sham local manufacture of a variety of military equipment.

Among the first projects in this direction is the establishment of an assault rifle plant, the "bidding" for which has already started. Among the six foreign military hardware manufacturers participating in this "bidding" are the two U.S. imperialist companies which produce the Armalite AR-18 and the M-16, both widely used by U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Indochina.

U.S. imperialism is sure to make superprofits on its industrial and military goods in the Philippines. Using as bait a military loan of \$21.96 million, it is bound to recoup this initial investment a hundred-fold within a short period of time. In addition to the fact that, in the words of the great Lenin, "In . . . backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap", U.S. imperialism has the singular advantage of holding the strings to a Marcos puppet regime all too willing to milk the Filipino people dry for the sake of monopoly capital.

As a concrete step towards the implementation of the "Nixon doctrine" in the Philippines, the Marcos fascist puppet regime has drawn up a record total of P1.5 billion for a five-year program to build up a "self-reliant defense posture". It has demanded from the reactionary legislature an appropriation of the special fund of P264 million for instituting this year a "self-reliant defense posture". This amount has bloated the military budget to a new high of P1.2 billion.

The U.S.-Marcos clique is also frantically forcing down the throats of the Filipino people new tax measures which are expected to net roughly P516 million in revenues on top of those being obtained by the reactionary government through already harsh tax measures.

The steady advance of national liberation movements in the Philippines and all over Asia, however, is putting to naught all the desperate schemes of the U.S.-Marcos clique to help prop up the wobbly position of U.S. imperialism. The peoples of Southeast Asia are waking up to the bankruptcy of U.S. imperialism and its various puppet governments. The peoples of Indochina are liberating their countries from the grip of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

Inspired no end by the experience of the People's Republic of China and the peoples of Indochina and Korea, the Filipino masses are steadily rising up to wage armed struggle. All the "self-reliant defense plans" and "citizen army concepts", whatever names they go by now or in the future, will be burned to ashes once engulfed by the fiery determination of the broad masses of the Filipino people to isolate all die-hard counter-revolutionaries, persuade mercenaries forced to serve the reactionary armed forces into making mass defections and desertions, and seize enemy arms and ammunition for use by the people's democratic revolution.

* * *

SEVEN BSDU MEMBERS JOIN THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

Seven members of the Barrio Self-Defense Unit of Bo. San Francisco, Concepcion, Tarlac joined the New People's Army on July 18, 1972, bringing with them carbines and several rounds of ammunition and magazines. The former BSDU members were officials of the said barrio, which included the barrio captain and six barrio councilors.

In a signed statement, they expressed their disillusionment over the reactionary armed forces which make use of the BSDU in oppressing the peasant masses, instead of performing their alleged role of protecting the people. They cited several reasons for their decision to join the New People's Army. The statement reads:

July 18, 1972

To our countrymen,

We BSDU members of Bo. San Francisco, Concepcion, Tarlac, including the barrio captain and council members, leave the reactionary armed forces of the government to join the New People's Army, the true army of the people.

We leave because we cannot bear anymore the oppression of the decadent state and the cruelty of its reactionary army which used us to create trouble, hurt, kill, extort from and harass the people, and suppress the rising masses led by the New People's Army which is guided by the party of the poor (the Communist Party of the Philippines).

We have awakened to the truth that the reactionary army is not the true army of the people but only an instrument of the exploiting classes against our poor class brothers, and we have come to learn that it would be against the interests of the exploited classes if we continue to be the lackeys of the exploiters.

We bring with us carbines and several rounds of ammunition and magazines to voluntarily join the struggle of our poor class brothers against the foreign tyrannical oppressors, the U.S. imperialists, against the landlords and against the corrupt bureaucrats, in order to achieve the most cherished emancipation of the oppressed classes.

We call on our countrymen and poor brothers to analyze our condition and refrain from being used as instruments of the oppressors, and fight all oppressor classes!

We the undersigned voluntarily and wholeheartedly join the New People's Army.

1. Mariano Vergara --Barrio Captain
2. Tiburcio Santos --Councilman
3. Felix Mercado --Councilman

4. Federico Gutierrez --Councilman
5. Pablito Briones --Councilman
6. Diosdado Salta --Councilman
7. Filomeno Canlas --Councilman

.. Long live the New People's Army!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the people's democratic revolution!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

* * *

FIGHT FOR GENUINE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The struggle of the Filipino people for genuine national independence still goes on. The Philippines continues to be in the grip of U.S. imperialism and its local puppets. The corruption and brutality of the U.S.-Marcos clique are but manifestations of the nation's captivity.

June 12 signifies the day that the ilustrado leadership in the old democratic revolution proclaimed Philippine independence. But this proclamation was immediately negated by its own erroneous assertion that the Philippines was "under the protection" of U.S. imperialism. To assert popular sovereignty and national independence, June 12 should be turned into an anti-imperialist day throughout the country.

The day is still to come for the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses, to win total victory in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy. A new day to signify genuine national independence will eventually be set by the present new democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Today, we demand the immediate abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism and we strengthen our resolve to wipe out the evils that these have spawned in the country. We vigorously call for the elimination of "parity rights", "vested rights" or "national treatment" for U.S. monopolies; super-profit remittances on direct investments, loans and trade; military bases and military assistance; control and use of the Armed Forces of the Philippines against the people; programmes and agencies of imperialist propaganda and all other colonial privileges.

Whenever we raise our voice against foreign domination and subservience, the puppet reactionaries vie with each other in pretending to look after our national interests and crowing about "renegotiations" with U.S. imperialism but in fact they maneuver to perpetuate the unequal treaties and agreements through such flimsy tactics as minor and even unratified revisions or new unequal treaties, agreements and laws.

The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the reactionary government are all basically tools of U.S. imperialism and its local puppets--the big compradors and landlords. The current reactionary constitutional convention is also nothing but a tool for sanctifying the rotten system of puppetry that exists in the country today.

The international big bourgeoisie is rabidly trying to keep the Philippines a semi-colony and even reduce it further to a complete colony. U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism are jointly and separately resorting to every trick to extract colonial advantages from the country.

There is no other road for the Filipino people to follow but that of revolution which the Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's

Army, has opened. For the Filipino people to achieve genuine national independence, there is no alternative but to pursue the general programme for a people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The conditions for continuing the Philippine revolution under proletarian leadership is exceedingly favorable. U.S. imperialism and the puppet ruling system are in deep crisis. The main trend in the world today is revolution and the Filipino people want revolution. As a nation, they want liberation. They want their country to be independent.

Chairman Mao teaches us, "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history."

Fight for genuine national independence!

Abrogate all unequal treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

June 12, 1972

ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S MARCH FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE
COMES TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION

Ten thousand workers, peasants, student youth and other sections of the population concluded on June 12 the six-day Anti-Imperialist People's March for National Independence by converging on Plaza Miranda and then proceeding to the vicinity of the U.S. embassy to expose the sham independence of the Philippines and demand the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States. The great mass of marchers and demonstrators showed to the whole country that every June 12 can be turned into an anti-imperialist day.

The People's March which was the main part of a nationwide protest movement against U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs began on June 7 with the main body of several thousand marchers starting from Angeles City in Central Luzon, passing through many towns of Pampanga and Bulacan during the next several days, and finally reaching Manila on June 12 where it was met by several thousand marchers and demonstrators from several districts of Manila-Rizal and the Southern Tagalog provinces. People's marches and other mass actions were launched from June 7 to 12 in Northern Luzon, the Bicol region, Eastern and Western Visayas and Mindanao.

The nationwide people's marches and other mass actions clearly demonstrated the rapidly strengthening anti-imperialist unity of the Filipino people and the growing support for the people's democratic program as the most comprehensive and most revolutionary answer to the problems spawned by U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It has proven once more the correct line of the Communist Party of the Philippines in leading the people's democratic revolution.

The marchers and demonstrators made manifest the revolutionary aspirations and demands of the Filipino people against U.S. imperialism:

1. Oppose the present reactionary state as nothing but a puppet instrument of U.S. imperialism. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the reactionary government are instruments of the U.S.-Marcos clique for perpetuating U.S. imperialist policies in the Philippines. From the highest to the lowest levels of the present reactionary state, U.S. imperialism is served by bureaucrat capitalists who play the special role of linking up the interests of foreign and local exploiters and suppressing opposition from the revolutionary mass movement. We must expose and oppose the constitutional convention as a futile attempt to deceive the people and further sanctify the domination of the Philippines by U.S. imperialism and its local hirelings through another puppet constitution. We must expose the rising fascism of the U.S.-Marcos clique and arouse and mobilize the broad masses of the people to fight for their democratic rights.

2. Fight for the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements which bind the Philippines economically to U.S. imperialism and oppose all attempts to maintain U.S. vested interests with new laws, new treaties, new agreements and new privileges. In particular, we must oppose the scheme to replace the Laurel-Langley Agreement with laws like the Investment Incentives Law, the Export Incentives Law and the proposed R.P.-U.S. treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation. We must oppose the U.S. monopoly capitalists' "vested rights" theory and the "national treatment" theory. These new-fangled phrases perpetuate the huge U.S. investments in the Philippines amounting to at least \$2.0 billion and allow the continuous repatriation of superprofits. We must oppose imperialist "aid" which is nothing but a flimsy cover for international usury. The reactionary government is so heavily indebted to U.S. banks and U.S.-controlled financial groups that its external debt is now more than \$2.0 billion. Through foreign "aid", U.S. imperialism dictates investment priorities for their own bloodsucking interests. We must expose the lie peddled by U.S. imperialism that it can implement land reform which can be achieved only through a genuine agrarian revolution in the Philippines. All economic treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism serve to reinforce the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of the Philippine society, and therefore must be resolutely opposed.

3. Fight for the abrogation of all military treaties and agreements with U.S. imperialism. In particular, we must demand the abrogation of the U.S.-R.P. Military Bases Agreement, the U.S.-R.P. Military Assistance Pact, the U.S.-R.P. Mutual Defense Pact and the Manila Pact, all of which serve to strengthen U.S. imperialist control of the Philippines by armed force and reinforce U.S. imperialist aggression particularly in Southeast Asia. We must vigorously oppose the increasing budgetary outlays for the puppet armed forces. These are dictated by the "Nixon doctrine", according to which the puppet government supplies the manpower and U.S. imperialism supplies the military equipment and materials to suppress the Philippine revolutionary movement. We must oppose the use of Philippine mercenary troops against the revolutionary movements of oppressed peoples, particularly in Indochina. We must oppose the creation of such paramilitary and special murder units as the BSDUs, the "Monkees" and the "Ilagas" which ride roughshod over the people. We must also oppose the military training of the youth under the ROTC, PMT and other "training programs" designed to suppress the revolutionary mass movement.

4. Oppose all U.S. cultural and educational projects and plans to spread decadent colonial and feudal culture among the people. Such imperialist agencies as the U.S.I.A. and Peace Corps and projects masterminded by the World Bank and U.S. foundations (like Rockefeller, Ford, Asia) are sources of ideological poison. The educational system of the reactionary government is utterly saturated with colonial and feudal ideas. The mass media (newspapers, radio, TV, and others) are loaded with imperialist propaganda. We must lay bare the reactionary nonsense and anti-people character of such social and cultural palliatives and ideas as the "green revolution", promotion of the tourism industry as a solution to our economic problems, the "horrors of population explosion" obstructing national and social progress, and others. It is one of the main tasks of the national democratic cultural revolution to foster and propagate a scientific, national and mass culture to supplant the decadent bourgeois and feudal culture of the exploiting classes.

5. Fight U.S. imperialism and its local lackeys as the principal obstacle to the formulation of a truly independent foreign policy. We must oppose the reactionary government's subservience to U.S. imperialist dictation on matters affecting

our relations with other countries. We must demand the opening and promotion of diplomatic and trade relations with all countries which respect our sovereignty and territorial integrity and which treat us as equals. We must uphold revolutionary internationalism and support the struggles of all oppressed peoples and nations fighting U.S. imperialism, Japanese militarism, Soviet social-imperialism and their lackeys.

In contrast to the militant and enthusiastic participation of some 10,000 workers, peasants, students and other intellectuals, professionals, religious people and national minorities in the People's March, the reactionary puppet government could gather no more than a few thousands, mainly composed of government officials and employees, and military personnel and troops, to celebrate "independence day" at the Rizal Park. Puppet chieftain Marcos did not dare appear to deliver the usual "independence day" speech for fear of the people's opposition to his regime's puppetry to U.S. imperialism.

In an attempt to suppress the People's March, the reactionary puppet government mobilized several thousand puppet troops and ordered the Metrocom and Manila Metropolitan Police to harass the marchers along the way. On June 12, the streets leading to the U.S. embassy were blocked with steel and wooden fences manned by Metrocom and MMP troopers. Furthermore, the reactionary government tried but failed to infiltrate the marchers' ranks with agents and goons armed with explosive devices. Braving all threats, the marchers and demonstrators surged onward and successfully reached the vicinity of the U.S. embassy where several speakers from national democratic organizations and other progressive personalities denounced U.S. imperialism and condemned the reactionary government's attempt to prevent them from demonstrating before the U.S. embassy.

The Anti-Imperialist People's March for National Independence proved to be an effective propaganda and mobilizing force. In every barrio, town and provincial capital, the marchers distributed leaflets, pamphlets and other propaganda materials denouncing U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs. At every terminal point along the march to Manila, they conducted cultural presentations, teach-ins and discussion groups which were well attended by the local people. All throughout the march, the evils of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism were exposed and the people expressed militant support to the marchers' revolutionary demands.

Manifesting their enthusiastic support for the people's march, the local people gave the marchers food, water and sleeping quarters and even financial contributions, and provided security during stopovers and along the way. From one town to another, the marchers' ranks were swelled by the mass participation of the local people. Local organizations and local chapters of national democratic mass organizations coordinated with the main body of marchers by conducting propaganda work and mobilizing the local people to support the march.

The Lava revisionist renegades did their share in attempting to harass and discredit the people's march by vainly trying to stop the marchers from reaching Manila. In three particular barrios in Malolos, the Lava revisionist renegades employed goons to ram a jeepney through the marchers' ranks, shoot at the marchers and put up wooden obstacles. Their attempts were rebuffed by the marchers and the barrio people who removed the obstacles. Failing in this attempt, they later tried to smear the masses of marchers by calling them "lumpenproletarians". Their babbling however only served to expose them as counter-revolutionary saboteurs and special agents of U.S. imperialism.

The success of the Anti-Imperialist People's March for National Independence has effectively demonstrated the Filipino people's determination to fight for true national independence and sovereignty. It has projected the Filipino people's democratic revolution as part of the powerful trend of countries wanting independence, nations wanting liberation and people wanting revolution.

LAVA REVISIONIST FASCIST PROVOCATEURS
FAIL TO DISRUPT ANTI-IMPERIALIST MARCH

Once more the Lava revisionist renegade clique unmasked their role as special agents of the U.S.-Marcos clique by attempting to disrupt the anti-imperialist long march which had started from Angeles City on June 7 as it passed Barrios Atlag, Matimbo and Mambog of Malolos, Bulacan on June 10.

The Lava revisionist renegades had always boasted of these barrios as their political bailiwick because of their kinsmen and land tenants who reside there. But it turned out that the desperate measures taken by a handful of goons under the pay of Vice-Mayor "Baby" Lava of Bulacan, Bulacan and Comelec registrar Connie Rabielos to disrupt the anti-imperialist long march served only to expose further the fact that in these very barrios the ringleaders of the Lava revisionist renegades are extremely isolated from and hated by the barrio people.

The barrio people poured out of their homes and welcomed several thousands of patriotic marchers who had come from all over Central Luzon. They shielded the marchers from the gangster acts of the Lavaite goons, gave them food and water to drink and cheered them on to march forward to Manila to meet with thousands of other marchers from Southern Luzon and Manila-Rizal and make their protest demonstration against U.S. imperialism.

The barrio people told the marchers that even if some of them were close or distant kinsmen of the Lavaite ringleaders they do not follow the revisionist scoundrels blindly. Quite a number of them came forward to verify the fact that the Lavaite ringleaders, despite their revolutionary pretensions for quite a long time, had never given up titles to their lands in some of the barrios and had always participated in feudal exploitation. "How can they be revolutionaries, these rotten feudal lords and highly-paid bureaucrat capitalists!" the tenants of the Lavaite ringleaders shouted.

In line with the revisionist fascism of their ringleaders, a handful of Lavaite goons attempted to disrupt the anti-imperialist long march by placing a jeep astride the national highway at Barrio Matimbo. As the marchers moved forward, the jeep was suddenly driven to ram through the ranks of the demonstrators. The marchers pounced on the jeep even as some of the Lavaite goons hiding themselves in some bushes used pellet guns, pillboxes and stones to attack the marchers.

Unmindful of the nationwide attention on the long march, the handful of Lava revisionist fascist provocateurs placed themselves against the workers, peasants, student youth and other patriots of Central Luzon. At Barrio Mamog, the Lavaite provocateurs put up wooden obstacles along the national highway but the marchers together with the barrio people threw these away. The barrio people were deeply incensed by the report reaching them that goons of Bulacan Vice Mayor "Baby" Lava had intercepted and thrown away the food for the marchers at Bulacan, Bulacan.

From Barrio Matimbo to Barrio Mamog, the yellow tabloid, Daily Express, was on hand to cover the disruptive activities of the Lava revisionist fascists and to later echo the Lavaite line that "the anti-imperialist movement is split up". When the marchers and the barrio people relentlessly fought back, the Philippine Constabulary made a sudden appearance and took to the pretext of helping the marchers only to salvage the Lava revisionists from further counter-attack.

In Malolos, Bulacan, the thousands of marchers had already been forewarned of the evil scheme of the Lava revisionist renegade clique. The handful of Lava goons had started to destroy the anti-imperialist posters and placards of the marchers and heckled the speakers of the march. The marching workers, peasants, student youth, intellectuals and other patriots did not only remain unperturbed by such puny goon tactics but were ever more determined to march forward to the hometown of the Lavas, which is Bulacan, Bulacan. The marchers quipped, "Vice Mayor Lava cannot be any more powerful than ex-Mayor Asistio of Caloocan City. These local despots can easily be thrown away by the masses."

Without the least shame, the Lava revisionist renegade clique through the MPKP issued on June 11 a press release to all metropolitan papers claiming that

the thousands of anti-imperialist marchers were nothing but "lumpenproletarians". That is their way of getting some space in the metropolitan papers. They resort to physical attacks against the national democratic movement and later resort to further slander and insults. But on June 12, at Plaza Miranda and then in the vicinity of the U.S. embassy, it was clear that there were 10,000 people composed of workers, peasants, student youth, professionals and other patriots--including those coming from Malolos and Bulacan, Bulacan.

As a result of the revisionist fascist tactics of the Lavaite ringleaders on June 10, the great mass of activists of the national democratic movement in Bulacan (especially Malolos and Bulacan) and throughout the country are ever more united and more determined to fight the evil of modern revisionism in complementation of the main struggle against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

* * *

10,000 MARCHERS DENOUNCE U.S. IMPERIALISM ON JULY 4

On July 4, ten thousand people called to action by a broad front of democratic mass organizations, coordinated by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, conducted marches all over the Manila-Rizal area to protest once more U.S. imperialist domination of the country.

The people had as their three major assembly points the Quezon City Rotonda, San Andres Rotonda and Plaza Moriones. They converged on Plaza Miranda before proceeding to the U.S. embassy.

At every terminal point of the marches, the people and their representative speakers denounced the unequal treaties and arrangements binding the Philippines to U.S. imperialism politically, economically, culturally and militarily. All throughout the marches, the people shouted slogans showing that there can be no friendship between them and U.S. imperialism.

The reactionaries still celebrate July 4 as "Philippine-American friendship day" after the shift of "Philippine independence day" from that date to June 12.

One after another, two bloody provocations beset the patriotic demonstrators. The first occurred when a small group of the Lava revisionist renegades, acting as affiliates of the "Socialist Party of the Philippines" headed by the yellow labor boss Lacsina, threw some explosives at them while passing the Mehan Gardens. This incident caused injuries to some of the marchers.

Using this first incident as an excuse for the brutal scuttling of the demonstration, the Metrocom and Manila policemen attacked the national democrats when the latter had reached the vicinity of the U.S. embassy. This second incident caused serious injuries to many demonstrators.

The occurrence of these two July 4 incidents shows that both the Marcos-Bagatsing anti-communist clique and the Lava revisionist fascist renegades are in the service of U.S. imperialism and do coordinate their crimes against the national democratic movement.

The July 4 mass action in front of the U.S. embassy was the center of nationwide rallies. The biggest provincial mass action was the one at Angeles City in front of Clark Air Base. Rallies in other cities and towns in the country were also sizeable.

The day is long past when U.S. imperialism could ride roughshod over the people without encountering an effective revolutionary mass movement. The Filipino people are ever more united to oppose U.S. imperialism and all its running dogs.

* * *

U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE: TARGET OF RENEWED ACTIVISM ON CAMPUSES

The start of school year 1972-73 saw the renewed upsurge of student activism with the masses of students and all progressive sectors of Philippine society uniting in protest against abusive and suppressive practices of an educational system serving U.S. imperialist interests.

This school year's 14 million students are made to bear the brunt of the Philippine educational crisis manifested in the grave problems of prohibitive school fees; lack of school facilities and classrooms; and the like. These have been compounded with the problems of displaced school teachers and students and destroyed school houses as a result of the floods.

Department of Education officials have attempted to cover up the crisis by stop-gap measures which are in conflict with the interests of students. These stop-gap measures, which affect grade school and high school students, include the "2-3 shift plan" to make up for the lack of 26,000 classrooms, the increase in the number of pupils from 30 to 50 per class and the recall of teachers detailed at Congress and other government offices to make up for the lack of school teachers. It should be pointed out that these stop-gap measures would have been unnecessary in the first place had Education officials not pocketed the greater part of the P1.04 billion budget for fiscal year 1971-72. Like all other departments in the corrupt bureaucracy, the Education department is a haven for racketeers. Thus, in spite of the fact that the Filipino masses are forced to spend huge sums supposedly for "educational" purposes, they are also subjected to the poorest kind of education that any reactionary government can claim to offer.

On top of this, another tuition fee hike has been engineered and colluded on by profit-hungry capitalist school administrators and Education officials with the blessings of the U.S.-Marcos clique. Despite the Tuition Fee Law prohibiting an increase beyond 15 per cent, about 600 private schools have already jacked up tuition fees from 10 to as much as 30 per cent. Tuition fee increases, a semester issue for the last two years, were again the subject of militant campus pickets and demonstrations in front of the Department of Education in January and June of this year.

To aggravate the already deplorable state of the colonially-oriented educational system, the U.S.-Marcos clique, through the aforementioned collusion, has instituted a number of oppressive measures not only against the Filipino student masses but against all progressive campus elements in the country.

The oppressive measures involve the transgression of civil liberties and academic freedom of the student masses and teachers through the blacklisting, non-admittance and expulsion of thousands of student activists and progressive teachers; the militarization of colleges and universities; and the institution of administrative policies opposing democratization, student rights and campus press freedom.

Since the opening of classes in June-July, strong and vigorous mass protests have been organized and launched by students, teachers and intellectuals and other progressive sectors of the population throughout the country to expose the colonial orientation of the educational system, denounce the new oppressive measures and oppose the "Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education" (PCSPE) which is an instrument of U.S. imperialism for restructuring state colleges and universities according to its dictates.

Militant students have conducted local boycotts, pickets and rallies both in schools and at the Department of Education to oppose and denounce the use by various colleges and universities of "committees on admissions" for debarring students with national democratic orientation. Two reactionary anti-student entities--the Catholic Education Association of the Philippines and the Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities--have systematized this procedure to the extent that a student debarrred from one member school of either organization is not allowed admission in any member school of both.

Also vehemently being denounced in student protest actions is the militarization of colleges and universities. Some militarization measures instituted so far are the deputization of security forces in the various colleges and universities under the Metrocom-PC CIS; as in the University of the Philippines, and the reinforcement of these forces in terms of an increase in personnel and in the supply of "anti-riot" and intelligence surveillance equipment. Other measures are the routine checks and surveillance of democratic activists among the students, educators and non-academic personnel and the proliferation of "special forces" and hired goons on the campuses. The latter tactic has been employed for some time now, with jeep or car-riding armed brutes making constant though vain attempts to harass and terrorize the campus populace and repress activism within the campuses.

Of late, a more sinister form of militarization instituted on campuses is the direct participation of AFP intelligence officers in the administration of student and academic affairs. The adoption by various school administrations of policies which are additional threats to student rights, particularly to campus press freedom, can be attributed to the interference of these officers in academic affairs.

Most important and most serious among the various issues raised by the militant students is the dangerous scheme of the U.S.-Marcos clique, through the PCSPE, of utilizing state colleges and universities for further strengthening the economic and cultural stranglehold of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines. The puppet Marcos created the PCSPE on December 24, 1969, supposedly as a "response" to the needs of Philippine society but in reality at the prodding of U.S. imperialism. Using Harvard-trained minor puppet Onofre D. Corpuz as PCSPE figurehead, Ford Foundation "consultants" and "resource experts" came out on schedule a year later with an "initial report" entitled "Education for National Development--New Patterns, New Developments".

What the PCSPE "report" claimed to be "new patterns, new developments" are in fact nothing but a rehash in various forms of old imperialist tricks. First and foremost, as a result of the PCSPE "proposals" the Philippine puppet government will be made to spend the staggering amount of ₱3.1 billion annually by fiscal year 1975-76. The implementation of one item alone (the establishment of "comprehensive schools") in the first project proposal would cost more than ₱330 million. The long-term purpose of all these "proposed" expenses is obviously to bury the Philippine puppet government, and consequently the Filipino masses who bear the burden of taxes, deeper and deeper in debt. In fact a proposed \$100 million World Bank loan for financing the project is already well on the way to being finalized.

Another old imperialist trick adapted by the PCSPE to suit U.S. imperialism's new needs is the restructuring and reorganization of state colleges and universities. Following this scheme, all state colleges and universities will be placed under the centralized control of a National Education Board and restructured along three main centers: the National University of the Philippines, the National Polytechnic System and the National Teachers Training System. Even as such measures are designed to tighten the grip of U.S. imperialism on the Philippine educational system, they are principally meant to cater to certain needs of U.S. imperialist projects, such as the "Progressive Car Manufacturing Program" and the Mariveles "Free Trade" Zone. Ostensibly giving high priority to the development of technical and vocational education, Ford Foundation "consultants" in the PCSPE were actually aiming at the creation of a vast reserve of foremen and skilled workers from which U.S. enterprises can draw cheaply to fill up a limited number of jobs.

The students correctly see the evil hand of the U.S.-Marcos clique in the problems afflicting not only the academe but the Filipino masses as well. Their revolutionary vigilance has prompted them to militantly expose and oppose, through vigorous protest actions, this anti-people clique as the mastermind of the various oppressive and exploitative practices within the Philippine educational system. Such vigilance and militance on the part of the students and their supporters can only be an indication of the ever onward march of the national democratic revolution of which the student movement is a living part.

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ADVANCES MONTH BY MONTH

The first and second quarters of the year 1972 witnessed significant advances in the national democratic cultural front. Inspired no end by the response of the broad masses of the people to previous cultural efforts, the ever-widening army of revolutionary cultural activists, through tireless collective labor, succeeded in the twofold task of popularizing and raising the standards of literature and art degree by degree, month by month.

In guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases in the countryside, armed squads performing mainly cultural tasks have already been formed. Significantly, these cultural squads are composed of vanguard elements in the locality where they operate; they are assisted by only one or two Party cadres in the New People's Army who have had previous experience in propaganda work. Enthusiastically received by the masses, they popularize revolutionary songs and perform skits relating the sins committed against the people by local tyrants to the three basic evils in Philippine society. The recent publication of a handy collection of revolutionary songs has been of great help to these armed cultural groups.

In the field of the visual arts, production has been stepped up in terms of both quantity and quality. Innumerable illustrations, wall posters, paintings and comic books with a high political content have been disseminated all over the major cities and towns. Large revolutionary paintings are now carried by demonstrators during long marches through the countryside. Posters complete with heroic figures in revolutionary action are pasted or painted on city and town walls, also in the course of the long marches.

Satiric renditions of the decadent bourgeois culture of the ruling classes have been proven effective in Greater Manila. A recent experiment using this medium in conjunction with a picket against a bourgeois cultural presentation succeeded in enlightening not a few middle elements who had previously been lulled by such entertainment. Spending at least ₱25 per head to see the lavish show, these middle elements came out jarred by the contrast between the extravagant facilities inside the hall and the revolutionary sincerity outside of it, then started asking themselves about starvation among the masses, poverty, high prices, food shortages, oppression and exploitation.

Another protest action, this time spearheaded by militant women national democrats, effectively exposed and denounced the cultural oppression and exploitation of Filipino women through beauty contests sponsored by U.S. imperialist firms and their Japanese junior partners for the purpose of promoting their products.

In the field of literature, the past months have seen the publication of at least three books of poems (including one Filipino rendition of the poems of Comrade Mao Tsetung), two collections of short stories, two books on the People's Republic of China and three volumes in essay form. While the political levels of these publications vary, it is elating to note that more and more writers are striving toward integration into the revolutionary cultural mainstream.

It is not, however, enough to rest on the laurels of the past months. Much still has to be done in terms of expansion and consolidation to advance the cultural revolution further.

For purposes of expansion, one task is to win over more artists, particularly in the fields of cartoon-drawing, photography and figure-painting. Another is to develop cultural workers in cities, towns and barrios heretofore untouched by the winds of revolution.

For purposes of consolidation and expansion, one task that should be accomplished in the near future is to encourage more collective undertakings, such as discussions and workshops, especially among writers who are still bound to individualistic petty-bourgeois outlook and methods of work. In conjunction with these undertakings, it is an important task for revolutionary cultural groups to encourage potential cadres among writers and artists to conduct more social investigation and integrate with the masses. For, as Comrade Mao Tsetung teaches us,

"it is only through the cadres that we can educate and guide the masses". And only "through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society" can cadres educate and guide the masses.

* * *

"CAR MANUFACTURING" PROGRAM IS A TOOL OF U.S. IMPERIALISM
TO SUBVERT AND SABOTAGE PHILIPPINE ECONOMY

The U.S.-Marcos clique has been boasting of the "Progressive Car Manufacturing Program" (PCMP) as a measure to industrialize the country. This is all a hoax. On the contrary, it is a measure to drain away financial resources and halt real industrialization.

The "car manufacturing" plan is nothing but a scheme to import and re-assemble "completely knocked down" cars, avoid tariff and other restrictions on such a luxury item as private cars and take advantage of the bonanza of imperialist privileges (non-expropriation, unrestricted foreign equity, dollar remittance guarantees, tax exemptions, accelerated depreciation, use of local credit and the like) as those extended under the Investment Incentives Law, the Export Incentives Law and the Mariveles Free Trade Zone Law.

The business of re-assembling prefabricated cars is what is today described by the technocrats of the U.S.-Marcos clique as "progressive car manufacturing" as opposed to processing components from local materials which they describe as "backward". Choosing to go "progressive", the Board of Investments has selected Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, Toyota and Volkswagen to undertake sham manufacturing and minimize the "local content" of the foreign manufactures. (For the first year of the PCMP, these foreign car manufacturers have been given an allocation of \$26 million to import 20,000 "completely knocked down" cars.)

Eighty per cent of the PCMP is controlled by the U.S. car manufacturers and ten per cent by Toyota of Japan. Participation of such local corporations as Yutivo, Delta Motors, D.M.G., Inc. and Francisco Motors is strictly that of compradors. In this multinational arrangement, the U.S. monopolists have the lion's share and accommodate their Japanese allies to some extent. Ford alone enjoys direct and actual ownership of 75 per cent of the entire project and 100 per cent of its Philippine corporation. In the Mariveles "free trade" zone, Ford is slated to sit on 290 hectares and is maneuvering to get another 30 hectares of the choicest land.

The PCMP corporate participants have reported that their new plant facilities will cost ₱420 million and that they need ₱70 million as working capital. Ford, with new plant facilities costing ₱250.9 million, has not reported any working capital, while General Motors with new plant facilities costing ₱98.5 million, has reported only ₱13.5 million as working capital. Surely, these firms actually need colossal working funds which they will certainly draw from the local banks and the local people.

It is all a folly for anyone to imagine that sometime in the future local car manufacturing will truly develop under the PCMP. One important use the U.S. car manufacturers, especially Ford, have for the PCMP is to facilitate the disposal of 150,000 car units at a higher rate of profit in Southeast Asia and make up for the stagnation and decrease of profit rates in the U.S. car business. In 1965, the U.S. market could absorb 11,000,000 car units but of late it could absorb only about 10,000,000. Ford Motors will always find it convenient and more profitable to export finished but disassembled cars from its Detroit plant to its Mariveles plant. It can also put inferior components into these cars in order to draw superprofits on spare parts and rapid car replacements. Ford has full control of body stamping and is bound to accelerate car replacements through changes of model.

Car manufacturing, whether it is real or pretended, or the mere importation of cars beyond a certain point, is not a basic and necessary requirement for the balanced growth of the Philippine economy at the present stage. The number of cars in the Philippines, about 200,000, is already excessive and constitutes a big waste of financial resources which could otherwise be used for necessary and basic industrial projects. For the past twenty years alone, about \$750 million have gone into the hands of the U.S. and other foreign car firms in exchange for cars and car parts. Billions of dollar worth of oil, tires and other consumption items in maintaining and running these private cars have been expended by local car owners. Billions of dollars more have been spent for urban infrastructures, urban repairs and other public expenses only to accommodate these private cars. All these have served to draw the Philippines away from real industrialization and economic development. In addition, the excessive number of private cars has already caused excessive traffic congestion amidst want of mass transport as well as excessive pollution in urban areas.

Under the PCMP, the misuse and wastage of Philippine financial resources will be aggravated. People, especially those belonging to the upper sections of the petty bourgeoisie and to the upper classes, will be baited into buying private cars at an initial price lower than what they would pay for directly imported ones. But the foreign car firms can always draw bigger superprofits on spare parts and other car necessities and also on rapid car replacements both due to inferior make and frequent changes of model. After some time, the price of the car itself will be continuously increased under various pretexts; anyway, to make a straight car importation would be more expensive than to get the "locally manufactured" ones which enjoy tariff protection.

Under the PCMP, there is no stopping or limiting the five foreign car manufacturers from remitting superprofits. They will do so through straight profit remittances, royalty and technical advice fees to the mother firm, artificially high payments for imported components and the like. The remittance of superprofits, besides the aforementioned misdirection of Philippine resources, several times over offset the expectation that the PCMP would result in the employment of 10,000 to 20,000 workers. The evil that arises is that more and more people in the millions will find themselves deprived of employment because the foreign monopoly capitalists shall have taken out their superprofits from the country. The new foreign investments in the PCMP constitute a whopping amount that will surely exact whopping returns.

The PCMP is a major project of U.S. imperialism to keep the Philippines in economic enslavement. It shows up the callous scheme of the U.S. monopoly capitalists to tighten up their stranglehold on the Philippine economy even after the termination of "parity rights". Aside from this, the PCMP is being used as a pretext to reinforce U.S. imperialist control of the Philippine educational system. On the ground that the project would require Filipino foremen and skilled workers, the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSEPE) was formed upon the instigation of Ford Foundation and the World Bank in order to pave the way for reorganizing the state colleges and universities, orienting them further towards pro-imperialist subservience and tying them to a World Bank loan of \$100 million.

The PCMP must be thoroughly exposed as a vicious instrument of U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Filipino people should unite to oppose it. At the same time, they must also unite with the people of Southeast Asia in opposing it. Under the auspices of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and under such catchwords as "regionalization" and "complementation", the PCMP will be used to further subvert and sabotage the economies of Southeast Asian countries, with the Philippines as a base of operations.

PHILIPPINE FOREIGN INDEBTEDNESS KEEPS RISING

As of February this year, the foreign indebtedness of the Philippines amounted to \$2,136.6 million. This is equivalent to ₱14.45 billion at the exchange rate of ₱6.77 to one dollar. Fifty-seven per cent are borrowings of the private sector and 43 per cent are those of the government, particularly the Central Bank, Development Bank of the Philippines, National Power Corporation and the national government.

Based on the above Central Bank report, every one of the 37 million Filipinos is in hock for \$57 or ₱390.56. Soon to be added to this is another \$250 million of foreign loans that the U.S.-Marcos clique is about to get from the consortium of international usurers sponsored by the World Bank.

After the deluge in Central Luzon, the U.S.-Marcos clique threatens to get more loans to the tune of \$250 million ostensibly for rehabilitation. As usual, these "rehabilitation loans" will be preyed on by corrupt officials and foreign public works contractors, used as a ruse for rechannelling more funds to the reactionary armed forces and used as an excuse for giving more anti-national privileges to the imperialist bloodsuckers.

The United States and Japan directly account for about 66 per cent of the Philippine external debt with the former accounting for 45 per cent and the latter for 21 per cent. But those loans drawn from such U.S.-controlled banks as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund account for another 12 per cent. The Asian Development Bank, controlled by both the United States and Japan, is steadily doing its supplementary bit for the World Bank, the IMF and the big private banks.

Dollar earnings from Philippine primary exports, which are even decreasing now, are far from sufficient to keep up with the annual debt service payments and the importation of various commodities from abroad. Based on the aforementioned level of indebtedness, the Philippines has to pay \$213 million in interest payments alone at the conservative estimate of 10 per cent yearly interest. The amount is colossal if one were to count in the amortization of the principal. Thus, the U.S.-Marcos clique has to keep on incurring new debts even only to pay for old debts.

Parallel to the mounting foreign indebtedness, the local public debt also keeps rising. Under the baton of the IMF and the World Bank, the Philippine reactionary government is under strict orders to keep up the "floating rate" (continuous devaluation of the peso) and the raising of counterpart funds for the foreign loans through rising taxation. All these are passed on to the masses through the skyrocketing prices, shrinkage of their real income, depression of local industries and increased unemployment. The national bourgeoisie is feeling the pinch through tight credit, lower income, shutdowns and even bankruptcies.

The economic crisis of the Philippines is creating favorable conditions for the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass movement. The broad masses of the people see clearly the utter bankruptcy of the ruling system and look up to the revolutionary torch raised by the Communist Party of the Philippines which is at their lead.

MAY DAY 1972 STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

May Day is a day for workers of all countries to commemorate the heroic sacrifices that they have made, celebrate the great victories that they have won and renew their determination to fulfill their tasks in the revolutionary class struggle.

It is in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and also in the spirit of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines that the Filipino proletariat upholds the revolutionary significance of May Day.

It is inevitable that we reaffirm today the leading revolutionary role of the proletariat. To do so is to recognize the correct theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the ideological guide of the Philippine revolution and the Communist Party of the Philippines as the most advanced detachment and practical leader of the proletariat. The revolutionary theory of the proletariat must be vigorously propagated among all the Filipino workers and all other patriots and progressives. The policies and activities of the revolutionary party of the proletariat must receive the fullest support from the broad masses of the people.

For the Filipino proletariat to achieve its great role of leading the Philippine revolution, self-sacrificing and arduous struggle has to be carried out in order to bring about the broadest popular unity for a people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Whatever the odds, the proletarian revolutionaries should always hold high the Red flag.

The U.S.-Marcos clique is the principal concrete expression of the three evils of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism today. There are also such other manifestations of these evils as the revisionist fascists, labor aristocrats and clerico-fascists. At all times, we have to be firm and alert in carrying out the correct line of the people's democratic revolution.

To arouse and mobilize the masses of workers on the broadest scale, the Communist Party of the Philippines is calling for and vigorously engaged in the development of the workers' strike movement. To fulfill the basic requirement for this movement, we are either building new trade unions, transforming old ones into new revolutionary ones or working out alliances or coordination with certain unions that are not yet under Party leadership. To approach the masses of workers, we must conduct organizational work in their working places or in the communities that they live in.

To conduct the economic struggle of the workers well is important. But it is not enough to improve wage and living conditions. It is even more important to raise the level of economic struggle to the level of political struggle. The strike movement should be a school whereby the workers raise their ideological and political level and learn the basic truths concerning the state and the various stages of revolution. The workers must learn to consolidate and expand the strike movement by being able to relate their immediate interests to the long-term interests of the revolution.

The strike movement will time and again be subjected to repressive measures. That is to be expected. It follows from the iron law of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The coercive apparatuses of the state are weapons of the class enemy. Thus, there is need to overthrow the state in the end. The enemy is our best teacher by negative example and he lectures us with gunfire, truncheons, explosives and blades. We must learn well from him; we must learn how to defend ourselves in various appropriate ways.

The May Day massacre of 1971 is still fresh in our minds. It was perpetrated by the uniformed minions of the state who used no less than Congress, a symbol of sham democracy, as a fort from which to attack by automatic fire a demonstration of workers and non-worker activists. It constituted an attack not only against the demonstrators of that day, resulting in the martyrdom of a woman worker and two student activists, but also against the proletariat and the entire people. The recent sanguinary attack by the uniformed minions of the state and hired goons on striking workers, their student supporters and other people at the L. K. Guarin Shirt Manufacturing Co. once more sharpens our view of the violent nature of the state and the reactionaries behind it. There are many more less known incidents where workers' strikes in various parts of the country have been subjected to the most brutal attack by the state and hired goons.

It is true that our political struggle in the cities, in relation to the armed struggle that we are waging in the countryside, has a defensive character. We should be persevering in asserting our democratic rights in the cities and in laying stress on the exposure of and protest against the evil character of the present state on a nationwide scale. In this regard, it is important to link the workers' strike movement with the democratic cultural revolution of a new type. As a matter of fact, worker-student alliances have already become a vigorous reality at picket lines and in huge demonstrations.

The workers' strike movement is always an important support for the armed revolution in the countryside. But the Party will always continue to shift proletarian revolutionary cadres from the cities to the countryside either in the regular course of strengthening the revolutionary struggle in the countryside or in the course of keeping them from the murderous hands of the enemy. At any rate, the strike movement must be developed fully among the workers in the cities in order to temper them for more widespread strikes and finally for the seizure of political power. The day shall surely come when the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are ready to advance from their rural bases to win nationwide victory.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has correctly taken the road of armed revolution. It is steadfastly linking the proletariat with the peasant masses and is creating the rural bases from which the cities will be seized in the end. The economic and political bankruptcy of the present state is daily worsening. Reactionary factions become more bitterly opposed to each other under the weight of the revolutionary mass movement. The policy of massacres being undertaken by the U.S.-Marcos clique against the legal opposition, the workers, peasants, students and national minorities is merely hastening the doom of the present ruling system. Fascism is nothing but the death throes of a moribund system. The broad masses of the people have begun to stand up and fight their enemy in every region in the country.

The general crisis of imperialism is becoming more grave daily. The imperialist countries are faced with insurmountable internal and external crises. The more the U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalists seek to extract from the Philippines the superprofits that they cannot get elsewhere, the more do the broad masses of the people rise up in revolutionary resistance and the more do the local reactionaries find themselves in a hopeless situation.

Throughout the world, the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples led by the proletariat continue to advance vigorously. The defeat of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos is already a foregone conclusion, and is inspiring all peoples of the world. Countries, nations and peoples everywhere else are isolating and fighting U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and other monsters. In the imperialist countries, the proletariat is sharpening their struggle against the big monopoly bourgeoisie. In socialist countries, the proletariat is consolidating its strength and is striving to extend every possible support to the proletarian revolutionaries and peoples of all other countries. China stands today as the iron bastion of socialism and of the world proletarian revolution.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of the Philippines, unite!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army!

Long live the broad masses of the Filipino people!

Down with the U.S.-Marcos clique!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Advance the workers' strike movement!

Defend our democratic rights against militarism and fascism!

Advance the people's democratic revolution!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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FILIPINO PROLETARIAT UPHOLDS
REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY DAY

Workers of all countries once again took occasion to reaffirm their leading revolutionary role as they commemorated the historic and revolutionary significance of May Day. It is on May Day that the workers celebrate the great victories that they have achieved through arduous struggle and sacrifice as they renew their determination to continue to fulfill their task of guiding the revolution with the proletarian ideology.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of the people's democratic revolution of the Philippines, the Filipino proletariat joined the great masses of workers all throughout the world in re-living the historic significance and upholding the revolutionary significance of May Day.

The week-long revolutionary mass activities in commemoration of May Day held throughout the country, which was climaxed by a demonstration participated in by the broad masses of workers and their allies, gave life to the revolutionary spirit of the day of the workers. The massive participation of the Filipino workers in the May Day activities (they composed 70 per cent of the 15,000-strong May Day demonstrators) indicates that the Filipino proletariat is resolute in its determination to stay in the forefront of the struggle of the broad masses of the Filipino people against their foremost enemy, the U.S.-Marcos clique. The successful countrywide observance of this great day not only gives new life and vigor to the workers' strike movement in the cities but also to the whole people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

On May Day, the Filipino people witnessed the ever-strengthening unity of the workers with all the progressive sectors of Philippine society, especially with the student youth. The latter took the occasion to reaffirm and stress its call for the student youth masses to integrate with the workers, forge the strongest worker-student unity and assist and learn from the workers in conducting revolutionary work. Such unity was proven in the mass actions in preparation for and during the commemoration and celebration of May Day where workers and students, along with the urban poor and low-income professionals, held local rallies in the communities in Manila and in other urban centers, organized torch parades and held conferences to popularize the general call for workers to unite and to intensify their struggle against the U.S.-Marcos regime.

Panicked by the strengthening workers' strike movement in the cities and the strengthening unity of the workers with all other progressive classes in advancing the people's democratic revolution, the U.S.-Marcos regime unleashed its vicious fascist brutality against the workers and their student youth allies at the picket lines just before May Day. Striking workers of L. K. Guarin Shirt Manufacturing Company and their student supporters were attacked with trucks and with lethal weapons by the PC, Malabon Police and goons hired by die-hard capitalist Guarin, resulting in serious injuries to a number of striking workers,

student activists and residents of the community. This was only one among several incidents which occurred in various parts of the country where strikers have been brutally subjected to the counter-revolutionary violence of the fascist state perpetrated for the interest of the capitalists and the ruling classes in general.

As brutal and as condemnable as the May Day 1971 massacre where a woman worker and two student activists were butchered by the fascist brutes of the reactionary state during the demonstration before Congress, the L. K. Guarin incident ignited once more the wrath of the oppressed Filipino masses against the U.S.-Marcos regime. The Filipino workers will never forget such brutal suppression of their rights and they will count this latest criminal act among the blood debts of the U.S.-Marcos regime to the Filipino people. As these blood debts pile up to aggravate the economic travails of the people, the Filipino workers and their allies will strengthen their unity and their determination to advance the people's democratic revolution which will ultimately deal death blows to this oppressive semi-colonial and semi-feudal system.

May Day indeed became an occasion for the workers to strengthen unity with all other progressive classes not only against the U.S.-Marcos clique which is the principal concrete manifestation of the three basic problems of Philippine society--U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism--but also against the other enemies of the working class, namely, the Lava revisionist fascists, labor aristocrats and clerico-fascists. The vigorous democratic protest movements the workers led and organized put into glaring contrast the frivolous and ostentatious celebrations held by labor aristocrats, clerico-fascists and their kind. These enemies of the Filipino working class held traditional dinner-parties highlighted by noisy speeches "extolling" labor. No less than the chief fascist puppet Marcos himself was the speaker in one of such celebrations where he arrogantly called for "unity among the Filipino workers". Futile however were the efforts of the enemies of the working class to cloak their anti-proletarian schemes as the Filipino workers turned deaf ears to their pratings and instead marched on the streets to condemn the U.S.-Marcos regime and to expose the counter-revolutionary role of revisionist fascists, labor aristocrats and clerico-fascists.

The revolutionary spirit with which May Day was observed this year must persistently be held high and kept alive in the hearts of the Filipino proletariat. As more and more massive protest movements are launched and the ideology of the proletariat which is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is more widely propagated with the upsurge of the cultural revolution in the cities, the workers' strike movement will further develop into a strong and vigorous movement and thus further serve as an important and decisive support of the armed revolution in the countryside.

WORKERS' STRIKE MOVEMENT -- STRESS OF POLITICAL WORK IN MANILA-RIZAL

As laid down by the Manila-Rizal Regional Party Committee, the workers' strike movement is the principal stress of the Party's political work in the Manila-Rizal region. The two other main political tasks are: advancing the new democratic cultural revolution and linking the new democratic cultural revolution with the workers' strike movement. A full discussion of these tasks is contained in "The Three Main Political Tasks of the Party in the Manila-Rizal Region" released recently by the Regional Committee under the guidance of the Party Central Committee.

The present Manila-Rizal Regional Committee has been able to gain a comprehensive grasp of the Party's political tasks. The Party document which has laid down the main political tasks in the region is the fruit of the efforts of Party:

cadres in integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought with the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Together with other basic Party documents, it now serves as a basic guide to Party cadres and members working in the region.

The three slogans put forth by the document are:

1. Put principal stress in advancing the workers' strike movement!
2. Advance the new democratic cultural revolution!
3. Link the new democratic cultural revolution with the workers' strike movement!

Developing the workers' strike movement is set as the stress of political work in order to fully develop a mass movement that will arouse and mobilize the workers on the broadest scale and temper proletarian leadership in the people's democratic revolution. As the leading force and a basic motive force in the revolution, the working class shall have to raise its ideological and political consciousness in the midst of revolutionary struggles in the strike movement. Advancing the new democratic cultural revolution is one of the main political tasks for further intensifying and extending on a massive scale the propaganda movement to serve the people's war for national liberation and people's democracy. Linking the new democratic cultural revolution with the workers' strike movement is seen as an important factor in accelerating the development of the strike movement which still has to gain a breakthrough as a powerful and broad revolutionary mass movement.

Education in ideology and politics shall be carried out to unite Party cadres and members in undertaking the great task of advancing the workers' strike movement. While principal stress shall be put on mobilizing the workers, all other urban poor and the progressive sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie shall be mobilized in democratic protest actions and in support of the strike movement. Full attention shall be given to ideological and political work in order to develop proletarian class consciousness among the great masses of workers and draw a big number of proletarian cadres from their midst. The establishment of Party branches in factories and working-class communities and Party groups has to be accelerated.

In mobilizing the workers for economic and political struggles, the mass line shall be implemented to serve their well-being and mobilize them on the basis of concrete conditions and the level of their political consciousness. Their political education shall always be put above their struggle for economic demands; all economic struggles shall be utilized to the full for their political education. The working class women shall be mobilized to support the strike movement in particular and the women's liberation movement in general. Other democratic forces, the urban poor, the progressive intellectuals and other progressive elements shall be mobilized to support the strike movement. Flexibility in tactics shall be exercised in the workers' mass struggles and trade union tactics shall be mastered in order to achieve victories in specific struggles and thereby ensure the steady advance of the strike movement.

In advancing the new democratic cultural revolution, democratic protest movements shall be launched to expose and oppose various forms of oppression and exploitation of the people. These mass struggles give direct revolutionary experience to the masses and result in the isolation throughout the country of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionaries. All Party activists shall persevere in asserting democratic rights and exposing the violent character of the state. Special attention shall be given to developing the student and teachers' movement in order to mobilize the most progressive sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie to promote revolutionary ideas. More efforts shall be exerted in developing a people's democratic art and literature to promote and develop a national, scientific and mass culture. An uncompromising and consistent struggle against modern revisionism and reformism shall be waged to further lead the people on the revolutionary road of armed struggle.

In linking the new democratic cultural revolution with the workers' strike movement, a strong worker-student unity shall be forged to advance both the strike

movement and the cultural revolution in the urban areas. The student youth can assist in building up proletarian leadership while their involvement in the workers' struggles can temper them to a great extent. A propaganda campaign shall be launched to show the fundamental importance of mobilizing the workers to further develop the objective conditions for revolution in the whole country and particularly in the cities. The fascist suppression of the workers shall always be exposed and their democratic rights defended. In the communities, the mass movement shall be developed to support the strike movement and promote the proletarian revolutionary leadership. Special attention shall be given to exposing the oppressed and exploited conditions of the workers.

The revolutionary struggle in the Manila-Rizal region, the center of reactionary political power, is mainly characterized by legal struggle rather than by armed struggle. In the light of the specific forms of the workers' strike movement and the new democratic cultural revolution, the urban revolutionary mass movement has the long-term objective of assisting in the armed seizure of political power by the revolutionary people under the leadership of the Party. The Party organization in the region shall be developed as the revolutionary underground maintaining close links with the masses. Through its cadres, whose Party membership are not known in the open, it shall maintain and strengthen Party leadership in the mass movement and shall support the armed struggle in the countryside through revolutionary propaganda, dispatch of cadres and material support.

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STRIKE AT TARLAC VOICE OF AMERICA STATION EXPOSES RAPACITY OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

On July 4, the maintenance workers and security guards of the Concepcion, Tarlac station of the Voice of America combined under their respective unions to stage a strike denouncing U.S. imperialism and demanding job security and better working conditions. The two unions belong to a progressive national labor federation.

Nationwide support and sympathy for the VOA workers had been aroused even before the strike by the brutal gunslay of the maintenance workers' union president, Leonardo Malicdim, and two of his children, Ernesto and Avelino. Their murder had been perpetrated at their home barrio in Capas, Tarlac on June 28 by jeep-riding PC soldiers in the apparent attempt of the VOA to head off and scuttle the strike. Soon after the killings, the reactionary armed forces issued various intrigues to the press.

Undaunted by the brutal and deceptive tactics of U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs, the maintenance workers and security guards united to launch the strike even as the American officials of the VOA made last-ditch efforts to split the maintenance workers' union and the security guards' union by hypocritically offering to make a collective bargaining agreement with the latter union.

The Voice of America station at Concepcion, Tarlac is the biggest U.S. radio transmitting station and sits on 999 hectares of agricultural land, formerly tilled by hundreds of families forming several barrios. Under the pretext of converting the land into a ranch in the early sixties, Antonio Aquino (the brother of Sen. Benigno Aquino) was able to convince the peasants into selling off their plots. It was only in 1965 that it became clear to them that the VOA would be set up here.

To stave off popular opposition to the putting up of the station, the U.S. imperialists promised to give employment priority to the peasants in exchange for their displacement from the land. But alas, only a few would later become employed in the station and those employed were subjected to indignities and harsh working conditions.

The strike at the Voice of America station is a significant event. It manifests the determined resistance of the people to the rapacity of U.S. imperialism.

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"PHILIPPINE STATEHOOD U.S.A." IS A PUFFED-UP DECOY
OF THE U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE

"Philippine Statehood U.S.A." whose ludicrous objective is to make the Philippines a state of the United States, is nothing but a puffed-up decoy. By all indications, the U.S.-Marcos clique, including the C.I.A., has had something to do with its setting up and activities.

The tactic of the U.S.-Marcos clique is to present a "movement" like "Philippine Statehood U.S.A." as the big opposite of the revolutionary mass movement and then to picture itself as a "middle force" and as a "middle course" for the majority of the people. By setting up a straw figure for a "bigger puppet", the Marcos clique hopes vainly to conceal its own puppetry to U.S. imperialism and to draw away popular attacks from itself.

This kind of tactic is also evident in the attempt of PC chieftain Ramos to place the rightist armed forces at the "middle" of the Right and the Left. Terrorist military agents of the reactionary state disrupt democratic mass actions and then put the blame for violence on two "extremist" points which are supposed to exclude the reactionary armed forces. The truth is that the worst rightists and terrorists today belong to the U.S.-Marcos clique and the reactionary armed forces.

"Philippine Statehood U.S.A." has become too obviously a gimmick of the U.S.-Marcos clique since puppet chieftain Marcos obliquely tried to publicize it as a formidable force by denouncing it in a fashion as to make a dragon out of a mere fly. A congressional investigation was set up to investigate it, not really to pin down the organizers of this "movement" as traitors or as crackpots but only to provide them an occasion to boast of a patently false membership figure of seven million. Within weeks of the congressional investigation, television appearances and press interviews, Rufino Antonio the chief "organizer" of "Philippine Statehood U.S.A." upped his membership figure by the millions, until this reached seven million. At the rate Antonio ups his figure, by this time there should be no more Filipino, adult or new-born child, who has not signed up as member of "Philippine Statehood U.S.A."

At a time that U.S. imperialism is on its death-bed, in the throes of the most severe political and economic crisis that it has ever experienced, "Philippine Statehood U.S.A." insists that the United States is a "paradise" and that the Philippines can suddenly become a part of that "paradise" through annexation. Annexation of the Philippines to the United States, discredited a long time ago when the country was still under direct U.S. colonial domination, is supposed to be better than any of the two other alternatives, like "continuing to be independent" or "going communist". This is certainly going against the tide of history and being blind to the ugliness and hell of subjugation to U.S. imperialism.

The United States is the richest country in the world but the social wealth is overwhelmingly in the hands of the monopolies. Thirty-nine million people live in abject poverty and six per cent of the total labor force are unemployed. Superprofits are exacted from the American people by the U.S. monopolies through the most exploitative means. Cases of bribery, stealing and tax robbery by big corporations and legislators multiply daily and thicken the smog that pollutes the political atmosphere. Highly organized crime and less-organized crimes are normal part of American society and are flourishing.

Taxes have gone up by 77.5 per cent in 1972, prices have soared rapidly and real wages have dropped. There are widespread lay-offs and strikes and huge cuts are made on "welfare" spending and social services. In spite of these U.S. imperialism spends \$80 billion a year to oppose national liberation movements and \$5 million an hour to wage a genocidal war against the Vietnamese people. While colored Americans, including those of Filipino origin who are derisively called "Flips", are victims of rampant racial discrimination and political repression, they are the favorite conscripts of U.S. imperialism for its wars of aggression abroad because they are the first to be laid off and starved out of non-military employment.

In California, the richest state where many Filipino immigrants are, unemployment has shot up far beyond the national level of six per cent. A grape picker's income for the whole year is less than half the amount required to live just above the poverty level. Medical costs have become prohibitive to the majority of the American people; the U.S. ranks 18th among countries in infant mortality; more than five million alcoholics exist. The environment is polluted with 165 million tons of solid waste and 172 million tons of smoke and fumes, endangering the lives of the people and depleting natural resources.

Antonio fits in very well as chief organizer of "Philippine Statehood U.S.A." In the early 1960's, he excelled in quarreling with a fellow bureaucrat capitalist over their shares in the sweepstakes funds. At another time he was charged by another bedfellow of anomalies in contracts to construct the Philippine chancery in Tokyo, the Philippine consulate in Kobe and other luxurious "official" residences of the Philippine bureaucrat capitalists in Japan. As a congressman in the reactionary legislature he was known to have sponsored a bill that would punish newspapermen for printing banner headlines linking his gangster son to multiple crimes; this same son, as head of the Suzuki boys, was to terrorize the people of Batanes during the 1966 bourgeois elections. At present, Antonio is a big rentier and a comprador agent of the U.S. and Japanese monopolies.

It is perfectly within the scope of revolutionary propaganda to denounce every treasonous project. Apart from condemning "Philippine Statehood U.S.A." as a treasonous project, it is always necessary to point out that it is nothing but a small clutch of puppets manipulated by bigger and more deceptive puppets like those of the Marcos type.

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WE SUPPORT THE OFFENSIVE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE
AND CONDEMN THE DESPERATE USE OF U.S. NAVAL AND AIR FORCES

We firmly and militantly support the current offensive of the Vietnamese people and the concerted actions of the Cambodian and Laotian peoples in the struggle for national liberation and national salvation against U.S. imperialism and its reactionary stooges.

We condemn the desperate attempts of U.S. imperialism to use its naval and air forces to salvage its bankrupt policy of "Vietnamization". U.S. bombing of the population, homes and other civilian targets in south and north Vietnam will only serve to intensify the determination of the entire Vietnamese people to fight with greater revolutionary heroism.

The Saigon puppet troops are rapidly disintegrating in the face of the heroic assaults of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the Vietnamese people who are dashing forward in response to the revolutionary calls of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. U.S. imperialism can only succeed in exposing to the people of the world its own monstrous barbarity and unjustness by resorting to indiscriminate bombing, shelling, strafing and mining.

The U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon is following the old track of war escalation by intensifying naval and air attacks against south and north Vietnam. The U.S. imperialist aggressors are trying to provoke a world war by mining and blockading Haiphong and bombing the communication lines of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is preposterous for U.S. imperialism to prate about the "invasion of the south by the north". It is clear to the people of the world that U.S. imperialism is the invader and aggressor of Vietnam and that the people of south and north Vietnam belong to one nation and one country. The entire Vietnamese people are devoted to Comrade Ho Chi Minh's teaching, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. When the day of victory comes, our people will rebuild our country and endow it with bigger and more beautiful construction." He also said, "Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities and certain enterprises may be destroyed but the Vietnamese people will not be intimidated."

It is utterly absurd for U.S. imperialism to rail against "international outlaws" when in fact it is the big outlaw that transgresses the national sovereignty of the Vietnamese people and all other peoples of Indochina and that attacks by force the crew and transport facilities of countries that have relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In case a world war breaks out, it is U.S. imperialism that is solely responsible for it. Having presented its seven-point solution as early as July 1971, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has shown the U.S. imperialist aggressors the way out through negotiations. The two main points of the solution offered are: 1) the United States must set a date for the total withdrawal of all U.S. troops, military personnel, weapons and war materials and those of its allies; and 2) the United States must end its intervention in the internal affairs of south Vietnam and stop backing the regime of Nguyen Van Thieu. But U.S. imperialist chieftain Nixon has obdurately taken every step to confuse the issues and sabotage the negotiations in Paris.

U.S. imperialism can only dig deeper its grave by trying to continue and expand its war of aggression beyond south Vietnam and beyond the whole of Indochina. As it threatens to unleash a world war, the people of the world are not frightened but on the contrary are further emboldened to fight it even more fiercely. A world war will only ensure the defeat of U.S. imperialism and its reactionary stooges and the victory of the oppressed peoples.

In complete and direct opposition to the wishes of the Filipino people, U.S. imperialism is using its military bases in the Philippines, particularly the Clark Air Base and the Subic Naval Base, to perpetrate its criminal aggression against Vietnam and other countries. These military bases are used as launching grounds for U.S. air and naval operations and for stockpiling various types of weapons, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

The use of these military bases by U.S. imperialism is a contravention of the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and involves the entire country in ventures of international brigandage. Air corridors and naval routes extending from Guam also infringe on the territorial integrity of the Philippines. We condemn the Philippine reactionary government, particularly the Marcos puppet clique, for being an accomplice of U.S. imperialism in the wanton ventures of imperialist aggression.

It is both our patriotic and internationalist duty to wage a fiercer revolutionary armed struggle and other forms of revolutionary mass struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and thereby give support to the concerted struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian revolutionary peoples. The consistent revolutionary struggle and victorious advance of everyone of these peoples have provided a powerful inspiration and support for our own revolutionary struggle for people's democracy against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Chairman Mao points out, "The danger of a new world war still exists, the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Chairman Mao also teaches us, "A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big. The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country. This is a law of history." In the main battlefield of the world anti-imperialist struggle, that is Vietnam and the two other countries of Indochina, the truth of this teaching is well demonstrated.

The broad masses of the Filipino people under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines are united with the Indochinese people and all other peoples of the world, including the American people, in opposing the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and in supporting the just resistance of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

May 19, 1972

* * *

THREE MONTHS OF WAR ESCALATION

--Report by D.R.V.N. Commission for Investigation
of U.S. Imperialists' War Crimes in Vietnam

To commemorate the 18th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, the Commission for Investigation of the U.S. Imperialists' War Crimes in Vietnam of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam held a press conference in Hanoi on July 18. A document entitled "The Nixon Administration's Criminal War Escalation Against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," which exposes U.S. imperialism's towering crimes against the Vietnamese people since the beginning of April, was made public there.

U.S. Forces Involved in the War

The first part of the document exposes U.S. imperialism's crime of concentrating huge air and naval forces to wildly escalate the war against the Vietnamese people.

The document says that at the end of 1971, the United States had 45 B-52 strategic-bombers, some 350 tactical jet aircraft, 2 aircraft carriers and over 20 other types of warships in the Vietnam theater. The Nixon administration has now increased the number of B-52s in the area to nearly 250 (nearly six times that in 1971), the number of improved tactical jet aircraft has gone up to some 1,300 planes, aircraft carriers have been increased to 6-9 and the number of destroyers which regularly shell the coastal areas is now more than 60, not counting all the many other vessels which have joined the 7th Fleet.

The document says that with regard to the number of U.S. troops involved, though Nixon announced in April that by the beginning of July this year there would be only 49,000 U.S. troops still in south Vietnam and U.S. soldiers are said to have been "withdrawn," the fact is that the bulk of these troops have been sent to various U.S. bases in Thailand where they can be sent back into the fighting at a moment's notice. Actually there are still 160,000 U.S. troops taking part in the Vietnam war, including some 60,000 men in the 7th Fleet and more than 40,000 in Thailand.

The document cites numerous facts to show that the bellicose clique in the United States, having beefed up its air and naval forces, has brought the attack against north Vietnam to its highest level so far. "In the past three months and

more," it says, "20,477 sorties by warplanes were flown in 4,987 air attacks on north Vietnam."

"Besides, all the coastal areas from Haiphong to Vinh Linh were shelled day and night by U.S. warships stationed offshore," it points out.

Attacks on Water Conservancy Works

The second part of the document denounces the criminal U.S. imperialist attacks on water conservancy works in north Vietnam. It says: "In the past 3-odd months alone, U.S. aircraft on 135 occasions attacked 58 important dyke portions of large rivers, including the Red River, and 46 irrigation works of various sizes, with nearly 1,000 high-caliber demolition bombs. Many sea dykes in coastal regions were also hit during air and naval bombardments. U.S. bombs and shells not only pounded the main bodies of the dykes, but also their buttresses, 'digging craters and provoking geological seisms which crack the dykes and the surroundings, shake the foundation of the dykes, creating serious dangers in the spate season.'"

"More savage still," it continues, "U.S. aircraft not only attack dykes but also kill the people who repair bombed dykes."

Densely Populated Areas Bombed

Part three of the document denounces the U.S. imperialists' crimes of most savagely attacking densely populated areas and economic and cultural establishments in north Vietnam.

The document says: "North Vietnam is composed of 23 provinces, 6 cities and a special area. Up to now, 17 provinces, all the 6 cities, including Hanoi and Haiphong, and the special area, namely Vinh Linh, have been subject to intensive attacks. Hundreds of provincial and district capitals, villages and hamlets were hit continuously and intensively."

The document notes: "U.S. aircraft also attacked over 60 schools of different grades, 32 health establishments, over 30 churches, Buddhist temples and pagodas, dozens of state farms, afforestation centers and dozens of factories catering to the daily needs of the population. U.S. air raids on civilian targets caused many casualties, mostly women and children."

Blockading Ports and Territorial Waters

Part four of the document denounces U.S. imperialism for mining the harbors and blockading the territorial waters of the D.R.V.N.

The document points out that these actions crudely encroached upon the D.R.V.N.'s sovereignty, security and territorial integrity, and blatantly violated international regulations on freedom of shipping and trade. Along with the mining and blockade, the document says, the Nixon administration ordered untrained attacks on all lines and means of communication and transport inside the D.R.V.N. U.S. planes have deliberately bombed and attacked ships in D.R.V.N. ports and territorial waters. U.S. warships have extended the range of their attacks to shell coastal villages day and night from the Vinh Linh area to Haiphong.

The document calls on the governments and peoples of peace-and-justice-loving countries and international peace and democratic organizations to step up the struggle to effectively stay the criminal hand of the U.S. aggressors.

In conclusion, the document says that with "the active support and assistance of all progressive people the world over, the Vietnamese people are persisting in and stepping up the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and giving the U.S. aggressors due punishment. They will carry out their just struggle for independence and freedom to complete victory."

From Peking Review
July 28, 1972

PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT ANNOUNCES EXPULSION OF SOVIET MILITARY MISSION

President Sadat of Egypt on July 18 announced the decisions to terminate the mission of the Soviet Military advisers in Egypt as of July 17. He said that personnel of the Egyptian armed forces will replace them in their work.

The important decisions were announced by President Sadat in his political speech at an urgent session of the Central Committee of the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.).

The President declared: "One: Ending the mission of the Soviet military advisers, who came here at our request, as of July 17 and that our men from the armed forces will replace them in all the work they have been doing.

"Two: All installations and military equipment built inside Egyptian territory after the June 1967 war will be the total property of the Arab Republic of Egypt and under the administration of our armed forces.

"Three: Within the framework of the friendship and cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union, we call for a Soviet-Egyptian meeting, the level of which will be subject to agreement, to hold consultations concerning forthcoming stage."

President Sadat said: "The first and the second decisions have already been carried out completely and consultations are under way to decide a more effective method of cooperation in the future."

President Sadat reviewed the political situation and the development of the Egyptian-Soviet relations in his 90-minute speech, in which, he was reported to define at the beginning the primary line being followed in Egyptian foreign policy. This was the basic line followed by the July 23 revolution initiated by the late leader Nasser two decades ago, he said, adding "that line, in essence, is that all our decisions emanate from our own will and are drawn from our Egyptian personality and from Egyptian soil, and serve the interests of the people of Egypt who have never accepted to be included into spheres of influence."

President Sadat then gave an account of the development of Egyptian-Soviet relations and spoke in detail about the many talks he held with Soviet leaders. The larger part of the talks, he said, dealt with supplying the Egyptian armed forces with the equipment and arms required to wage a battle of liberation and to remove the traces of aggression.

He said: "These talks were not always free of differences in viewpoints, but I always considered that these differences were natural. The Soviet Union is a big power with a world role that we cannot ignore, and as such, it has its special strategy. As for us, part of our territory is occupied and our basic objective, on the Egyptian and Arab level, is to remove the consequences of this aggression. We are convinced that this removal, with the Israeli obstinacy and the U.S. continued support for this obstinacy, cannot be materialized except by fighting."

President Sadat noted that at the discussion with the Soviet leaders during his first visit to the Soviet Union as President in early March 1971, differences of viewpoints emerged as to arms, their kinds and the dates of their delivery. He pointed out that Egypt rejected any limitation on her use of the arms, whatever their kind, on the basis of Egypt's unshakable principle that political decision in Egypt must remain with the Egyptian political leadership and the Egyptian people alone, without asking for permission from whatever circles.

It seemed to him at the discussions held immediately after the conclusion of the agreement, President Sadat said, that the Soviet Union would deliver certain types of weapons necessary for the battle and "suitable to the timing I set on the basis that 1971 was the year of decision, but those weapons failed to arrive on the dates agreed upon."

He said, "A basic development took place in the world, namely, the Indo-Pakistani war in which the Soviet Union was somewhat involved. All this took place in 1972 which caused us, as I said before, to re-examine our calculations, since it was imperative to reassess the situation."

President Sadat said that shortly before U.S. President Nixon visited the Soviet Union (last May) for talks with the Soviet leaders, "it was time to make new calculations together and review our methods of action (with the Soviets)."

He said that he visited the Soviet Union for the third time in February 1972 for talks on the supply of arms. He visited the Soviet Union a fourth time in April "to define our political stand with the Soviet leaders before Nixon visited Moscow."

He said that he had told the Soviet leaders clearly that Egypt rejected three things:

"One, we refuse limitation of arms supplies during this period because it serves Israel which possesses stacks of arms while it continues to occupy our land.

"Two, we refuse any agreement which permits the continuation of the state of no peace, no war, because this means that Israel wins in the long run.

"Three, we refuse to forego any Arab land."

President Sadat said that the Soviet leaders sent "clarifications" on the talks they conducted with U.S. President Nixon and "I felt the need, in the light of all this, to define our stand with our friends."

He said: "We take our decisions and define our stands by our own will and our freedom is in our own hands. We take our decisions at the appropriate time."

President Sadat pointed out: "There is nothing strange about these decisions. I told you several times before, and I told the Soviet leaders in our four meetings, that the battle will be ours, that we will not fight except with our own men, and that we are not trying to bring the Soviet Union into confrontation with the United States. I presented these as fundamental lines of our policy.

"These decisions do not mean any delay in our battle. No one had any intention that our adviser friends should fight alongside with us. No one can imagine that any other soldier should fight our battle for the sake of our land, our rights and our dignity."

After his speech, President Sadat answered questions of the members and spoke about the next session of the A.S.U. National Congress due to be held on July 23.

The A.S.U. Central Committee on July 18 declared its full support to the decisions taken by President Sadat regarding the termination of the mission of the Soviet military advisers in Egypt.

Cairo citizens thronged the streets listening to the President's decisions over Radio Cairo. They said: "Indeed, what have the Russians really done for us?"

From The Vanguard
August 3, 1972

EIGHT PRINCIPLES FOR CHINA'S AID TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES

1. The Chinese Government always bases itself on the principle of equality and mutual benefit in providing aid to other countries. It never regards such aid as a kind of unilateral alms but as something mutual.
2. In providing aid to other countries, the Chinese Government strictly respects the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attaches any conditions or asks for any privileges.
3. China provides economic aid in the form of interest-free or low-interest loans and extends the time limit for the repayment when necessary so as to lighten the burden of the recipient countries as far as possible.
4. In providing aid to other countries, the purpose of the Chinese Government is not to make the recipient countries dependent on China but to help them embark step by step on the road of self-reliance and independent economic development.
5. The Chinese Government tries its best to help the recipient countries build projects which require less investment while yielding quicker results; so that the recipient governments may increase their income and accumulate capital...
6. The Chinese Government provides the best-quality equipment and material of its own manufacture at international market prices. If the equipment and material provided by the Chinese Government are not up to the agreed specifications and quality, the Chinese Government undertakes to replace them.
7. In giving any particular technical assistance, the Chinese Government will see to it that the personnel of the recipient country fully master such technique.
8. The experts dispatched by China to help in construction in the recipient countries will have the same standard of living as the experts of the recipient country. The Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities.

From Peking Review
April 28, 1972

AFRICA FORGES AHEAD VICTORIOUSLY UNDER BANNER OF UNITY AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Meeting in mid-June in Rabat, capital of Morocco, the 9th Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) reflected the growing strength and development of the O.A.U. since it was founded in 1963. The conference also demonstrated the excellent situation now existing in Africa, where nations and peoples are united in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination and for safeguarding of national independence and for national liberation.

Firm Support for National-Liberation Movements

The independent African countries' resolute support for the African national-liberation movements in territories yet to achieve independence and their strong demand for the liquidation of colonialism and racism and decolonization in all Africa was the distinguishing feature of the conference. A unanimous resolution declared that the "total liberation of the African continent from foreign domination and occupation, and the eradication of all forms of colonialism and racial

discrimination" is the principal objective of the African peoples. Many African heads of state voiced this strong desire.

President Marien Ngouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo reiterated his country's sacred principle: "The whole of Africa, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, must be totally liberated from colonialist, racist and fascist domination." President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri of the Sudan pointed out that the elimination of colonialism remains the principal problem for Africa. Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia declared: "One of the main occupations of the independent African countries is to wipe colonialism and racism from the face of the continent." President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon pointed out that it is the duty of the African countries to take vigorous measures to decolonize Africa as a whole.

There was full discussion about the major question: How can decolonization really be brought about throughout the whole of Africa so that the people in territories still to attain independence in southern Africa can acquire real liberation? The conference reached the decision clearly stated in one resolution: "The prevailing situation leaves the African people in these territories no other choice but armed struggle."

The conference paid great tribute to the important successes of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) in their armed struggles against Portuguese colonialism. A resolution adopted at the conference reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence." It strongly denounced Portuguese colonialism for its infamous crimes and acts of genocide against the African people in these territories. It was decided "to increase assistance to the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)" and to urge "the governments of O.A.U. member states to strengthen and increase their moral and material support to the liberation struggle of the valiant freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) against Portuguese domination."

The people of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe were commended for their heroic struggles against the South African and Rhodesian minority white racists' barbarous rule. Resolutions were also adopted, which fully and unconditionally support the armed struggle of the people of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe for ending apartheid and racial discrimination and for self-determination and independence.

The conference decided to increase the annual budget of the African Liberation Committee by 50 per cent to support the national-liberation movements.

At the opening session, Moktar Ould Daddah, President of Mauritania and outgoing chairman of the O.A.U. summit, reaffirmed: "Our continued and unshakable determination to continue our historic struggle and to achieve full restoration of the rights and dignity of our brothers who, at the other extremity of the continent, are suffering the most inhuman and revolting of injustices."

The newly-elected chairman of the summit conference King Hassan II of Morocco expressed resolute support for the African national-liberation movements. He said: "Your liberation is also our liberation. Therefore, your struggle should logically be and will be our struggle."

The firm support given by the conference to the African national-liberation movements, to the armed struggle in particular, has increased the militant determination of the fighters struggling for the total liberation of Africa. Speaking on behalf of various African national-liberation movements, Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), thanked the O.A.U. summit for its invaluable support, and firmly pledged: "We shall increase our fighting 100 per cent."

Strengthen Unity Against Aggression

Another prominent feature of the conference was the unity and support among African countries which have gained independence in their common struggle against

imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist aggression. Shortly before the conference, the Portuguese colonialists, with the support of the United States, Britain and other countries, flagrantly challenged the conference and all the people of Africa by invading two O.A.U. member states--Senegal and the People's Republic of the Congo. This aroused the indignation of the African people. The Ministerial Council of the O.A.U. which was then engaged in the preparations for the conference immediately cabled the heads of state of Senegal and the People's Republic of the Congo, condemning the Portuguese colonialist aggression, and expressing support for the just struggle of the people of the two countries.

At the conference, President Marien Ngouabi of the People's Republic of the Congo strongly condemned the Portuguese aggressors. He pointed out: "Tiny Portugal cannot possibly resist the will of the African peoples without the political, financial and military complicity of the NATO powers." President Senghor of Senegal also emphasized that the African countries must do their utmost to safeguard their national independence.

The conference unanimously adopted resolutions strongly condemning the Portuguese colonialists for their aggression against the People's Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia, and pointed out: "Any aggression against any member state is considered as aggression against all O.A.U. members." The conference decided to provide concrete assistance for the above-mentioned five countries, victims of aggression, so as to strengthen their defenses. These decisions vividly reflect the excellent situation of the independent African countries in their unity against imperialism.

A resolution on the Middle East sternly denounced Israeli Zionism for its continued aggression against Egypt and other Arab countries. It demanded that Israel withdraw from all the Arab territories it occupies to the ceasefire line prior to the "June 5" war. The conference reaffirmed the O.A.U.'s effective support for the just struggle of Egypt to restore its territorial integrity by all means. President Houari Boumedienne of the Algerian Council of Revolution pointed out that imperialism and colonialism carry out aggression against Africa from two sides. In the south is Portugal and in the north is Israel. The African people should unite to oppose the enemy on both sides.

Speaking of unity against imperialism and hegemony, President Ahmadou Ahidjo of Cameroon declared that in the face of the conflict of the two superpowers for world domination, the African countries should unite and defend their sovereignty and interests.

The independent African countries' spirit of unity against imperialism manifested itself in the settlement of disputes through peaceful consultation. The conference welcomed the reconciliation between Guinea and Senegal and the strengthening of the relations between the two countries, achieved before the conference. At the closing ceremony, Morocco and Algeria signed an agreement on the boundary question between the two countries, thus ending nine years of dispute created by colonialism.

The conference congratulated the Sudan on the successful settlement of the problem of southern Sudan. At the ministerial council session prior to the conference, it was unanimously decided to allocate 100,000 U.S. dollars for the rehabilitation of southern Sudan. The successful settlement of the problem of southern Sudan is also a powerful rebuff to imperialism and colonialism in their creation of divisions in Africa and to their divide and rule policy.

The 9th Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity made new contributions to the African cause of unity against imperialism. In the nine years since the founding of the O.A.U., its membership has grown from 31 countries to 41. The unity and cooperation among the member countries has steadily been strengthened and extended in the common struggle against

imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and for safeguarding national independence and for national liberation. To be held in the Ethiopian capital of Addis Ababa, the next summit conference will mark the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity.

From Peking Review
June 30, 1972

SOUTH KOREAN PEOPLE'S ANTI-U.S., NATIONAL SALVATION STRUGGLE

Life is precarious for the people of south Korea under the fascist rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys the Pak Jung Hi clique. The masses of laboring people live in great misery. To oppose the fascist military dictatorship of the U.S.-Pak clique, people from all walks of life have launched an anti-U.S., national salvation struggle which is growing fiercer and fiercer. The hearts of more and more people in south Korea are turning to the northern part of the country and the just demand for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland is gathering force.

Fascist Rule

Frightened by the rapid upsurge of the south Korean people's anti-U.S., national salvation struggle, the Pak clique has frantically tightened its fascist military rule.

The clique launched a so-called "anti-spy, anti-Communist month" throughout south Korea in May. All of its propaganda machine, including the press and radio, was set in motion to churn out hysterical anti-Communist outcries. People, including old and young, were forced to attend anti-Communist mobilization rallies at which they were harangued to prevent the "threat of southward aggression." All kinds of meetings were organized in the puppet army to instill an anti-Communist mentality. The Pak clique had also sent its reactionary army and police to persecute the people, and more than 1,200 innocent people were arrested in April alone.

In the past few years, the clique has devised more than 40 reactionary laws --such as the "special law on national security," "special law on national defense," "law on protecting military installations" and "revised law on military requisitioning"--to arrest, imprison and slaughter revolutionaries and patriots. Even more, it brutally punishes patriots who advocate peaceful reunification of the fatherland and north and south interchanges.

The puppet clique raises a big din about a "military threat" from the north to cause tension, intensify arms expansion and war preparations and use it as an excuse to tighten its military dictatorship and crack down on the south Korean people's just struggle against the U.S.-Pak clique. This puppet clique has already armed 2.5 million "homeland reserve defense forces" in south Korea and drawn up a "5-year plan for developing the police force."

The economic life of the south Korean people is completely in the hands of the U.S.-Pak clique and the big capitalists. The ten big capitalists, the so-called "ten big financiers," have raked in huge superprofits in the decade Pak has been in power. Their investments have grown some 11 to 31 times, while the laboring people's real wages have gone down 40 per cent. With surplus U.S. goods and Japanese commodities glutting the south Korean market, small and medium-sized enterprises have closed down one after another and production has stagnated. An example of this is in Taegu city in North Kyongsang Province. Nearly all the knitwear factories there have gone under and the few that remain are operating at 20 per cent of capacity.

Masses Resist

Where there is oppression and enslavement, there is resistance and struggle. In the last few months, from Seoul to Pusan and Taegu in the south, as well as other parts of the country, the people in the southern part of Korea who have been tempered in struggle have all along upheld the revolutionary spirit of the April 19 Popular Uprising.* Defying brute force and overcoming all difficulties; they have courageously resisted the criminal rule of the Pak clique by various forms of struggle, including violent resistance, demonstrations, strikes, and sit-down protests. To oppose the U.S.-Pak clique's dictatorial military rule and its series of military maneuvers, residents of the Yongdungpo District in Seoul once charged into a U.S. puppet troops' shooting range and in great anger wrecked the tanks parked there that were to be used in the maneuvers. More than 12,000 fishermen in fishing villages in the Changhung area, South Cholla Province, have launched a mass struggle to protest the reactionary authorities' forcible purchase at low prices of edible seaweed. They handed the reactionary authorities a joint protest. Furious residents in Gyong Gi Province recently burnt down a military storage of the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops.

Influenced and spurred on by the growing struggle of the south Korean people, many puppet troops have also risen in struggle. Over 120 at the puppet army's military college in Ronsan, South Chungchong Province, refused to abide by the college instructors' unreasonable obstructions and collectively walked out of the college and held a more than hour-long demonstration to protest the fascist crimes of the reactionary instructors. This incident fully reflects the widespread unpopularity of the puppet clique's traitorous policy of toeing the U.S. imperialist line.

For Peaceful Reunification

The struggle of the people in the southern half of Korea for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland has become an irresistible torrent. People and patriots of all strata there warmly support and respond to the correct policy and series of important steps made by the great leader of the Korean people, Premier Kim Il Sung and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independence and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The revolutionary parties and progressive organizations in south Korea actively support the D.P.R.K. Government's fair plan for concluding a peace agreement between north and south Korea and to bring about the reunification of the fatherland through meetings and consultations between representatives of the north and south. People of all strata, with workers, peasants, students and intellectuals as the main force, are engaged in a valiant and persistent struggle to tear down the barrier which for 27 years has divided the country, so as to restore and increase contacts and interflow between relatives and friends.

The south Korean people's struggle is rapidly growing in strength. Revolutionary parties and united front organizations have been set up in south Korea. One of these is the Revolutionary Party for Reunification which puts out revolutionary publications and is carrying out organized work among the masses and propaganda activities in Seoul, Taegu, Inchon, Mokpo and other places. Women in Chuncheon city have formed an organization to study the revolutionary ideas of Premier Kim Il Sung. Workers of a factory in North Kyongsang Province have distributed in their factory a collection of new songs which has in it the Song of General Kim Il Sung.

The just struggle of the people in the southern half of Korea is not an isolated one. Besides having the firm support of their compatriots in the north, it also has the support of the Chinese people and the peace-loving people all over the world. The national aspirations of the more than 40 million Korean people for a speedy realization of the peaceful reunification of the fatherland is something no force can hold back. The beautiful land of 3,000 ri is bound to be reunified.

*Together with people of all strata in south Korea, students launched a mighty anti-U.S. struggle on April 19, 1960 which drove the old U.S. imperialist-reared lackey Syngman Rhee out of office.

From Peking Review
June 23, 1972

UNITY OF REVOLUTIONARY CADRES -- A GUARANTEE OF VICTORY

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has brought new vitality to veteran cadres and maturity to new cadres. Tens of millions of cadres are ever more closely united around the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Playing a backbone role, they are leading the masses in their hundreds of millions in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Historical facts of revolutionary struggle have proved that one important reason for the vigorous and flourishing state of our Party today and the stability of our proletarian dictatorship is our staunch and united ranks of cadres.

Selection and Training of Cadres

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The overwhelming majority of the cadres are good; those who are not good are very few in number." "Have faith in the majority of the cadres and of the masses--this is the most fundamental principle."

The masses of the people are the real motive force in the making of world history. A fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle is to have faith in the masses. The broad ranks of our Party cadres are activists from among the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary army men, revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionary elements who have emerged in protracted revolutionary struggles and mass movements. Coming from the people, they serve the people and are the backbone force of the revolution. Faith in the majority of the cadres is in complete accord with faith in the majority of the masses.

Chairman Mao laid down for our Party a whole series of policies on the selection, training and use of cadres. He long ago set the criterion for selecting a cadre as someone who should be "resolute in carrying out the Party line, keeps to Party discipline, has close ties with the masses, has the ability to find his bearings independently, and is active, hard-working and unselfish." He often enjoins the cadres to "practice Marxism, and not revisionism," to gain a dialectical and historical materialist world outlook and oppose idealism and metaphysics, to have political foresight, to possess in full the spirit of struggle and the spirit of sacrifice, to have largeness of mind, to be staunch and active and to serve the people wholeheartedly. The successive rectification campaigns carried out in our Party and the struggles of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology it launched have raised the Marxist-Leninist level of cadres throughout the Party.

In 1964, Chairman Mao summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat inside and outside the country. To ensure that our Party and state would not change their political color, he put forth five requirements for the training and upbringing of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.¹ The new Party Constitution adopted by the Ninth Party Congress set these as the basic requirements for all Party members.

In the past several decades, our Party has followed Chairman Mao's proletarian line on cadres and persisted in educating them in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, eliminated the interference of "Left" and Right opportunism, and brought up large numbers of outstanding cadres on every front of endeavor.

Our Party's cadres have grown up and become strong in the course of fierce class struggles and the struggle between the two lines. In the great struggle of the democratic revolution, they fought heroically and arduously, tempered themselves in protracted revolutionary wars and contributed to the Party and the people. In socialist revolution and socialist construction, they have persevered in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, worked hard, and diligently served the people.

It is only natural and inevitable that class struggle in society will find reflection in the Party and in the ranks of cadres. There is nothing strange that a small number of bad elements and some new-born bourgeois elements should sneak into the ranks of our Party's cadres. Chairman Mao said: "It is imperative to maintain sharp vigilance in all departments, to be good at seeing through."

those who pretend to support the revolution but actually oppose it, to clear them out on all our fronts, and thus defend the great victories we have already won and those yet to be won." This is precisely the course our Party has followed. In the various political movements, and especially in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have ceaselessly cleared out of our cadre ranks renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders and other counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois representatives. However, bad elements among the cadres have always been only a very small handful. Even in those departments where power had been usurped by the counter-revolutionary revisionists, the majority of the cadres are revolutionary or willing to take the revolutionary road. Some may have been deceived for a time and committed mistakes, but once they realize the true nature of the class struggle, they are able to draw a clear line of demarcation concerning the class enemy and fight against him. Only an extremely small number will follow the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in being enemies to the people to the end. Facts in the Cultural Revolution have amply proved this.

Acting in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers energetically pushed the opportunist cadre line of ostracizing the majority of them. In the Cultural Revolution, they spread the fallacy of "suspecting all and overthrowing all" and described the cadre ranks as being completely hopeless. This fallacy runs counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and is reactionary through and through.

Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers are agents of the landlord and capitalist classes who have wormed their way into the proletarian revolutionary ranks, and represent the interests and demands of the overthrown reactionary classes. They stand in opposition to the cadres and masses. Their negation of the majority of the cadres means negation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, negation of the proletarian revolutionary cause for which the broad ranks of the cadres and masses are striving. Uniting with the people, the cadres of our Party have spearheaded their attack against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in the period of the democratic revolution. In the socialist revolution period, their targets are the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers thought they could prepare the way organizationally for usurping Party power and restoring capitalism by getting rid of our revolutionary cadres, particularly those revolutionary leading cadres who have devoted themselves to the Party's cause for years and persisted in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But facts have proved they were only day-dreaming.

Unity--Most Valuable Weapon

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Unite and don't split." This is a fundamental principle in Party building. To bring about unity among the Party's cadres, we must resolutely oppose the mountain-stronghold mentality,² sectarianism and splittism.

Chairman Mao has taught us: "One is the internal unity of the Party and the other the unity of the Party and the people. These are two most valuable weapons for overcoming hardships, and all Party comrades must cherish them."

Leading the Chinese people in their great revolutionary struggle, our Party shoulders the historic task of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end and eventually arriving at communism. To complete such a task, the Party must unite and rely on the masses of the cadres, keep in close touch with the masses and turn its line and policies into the conscious action of hundreds of millions. Our Party cadres come from all parts of the country and belong to every nationality in China. There are cadres in army service and those working in the localities, old as well as new cadres, and worker or peasant cadres as well as intellectual ones. By carrying out Chairman Mao's cadre line conscientiously, uniting with cadres from all quarters and fully bringing into play their revolutionary enthusiasm, it will be possible to unite the masses of the people, isolate to the maximum a handful of class enemies and attack them, and win victory in the revolution.

The mountain-stronghold mentality and sectarianism are the foremost enemies of Party unity; organizationally, they are expressions of the opportunist political line. They start out from the interests of the sectarian clique in disregard of the revolutionary whole and hinder the Party's correct line from being implemented. They reflect the pernicious practice of the landlord and capitalist classes and can only harm our Party and subvert Party unity and the unity between the Party and the people. Allowed to develop, they will inevitably lead to splittism, endanger the Party's life and undermine the revolutionary cause.

All the chiefs of opportunist lines in the history of our Party have gone in for either the Right or "Left" opportunist line politically and mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and splittism organizationally in a vain attempt to split and undermine our Party. Chen Tu-hsiu first went in for Right opportunism, but after the August 7th Meeting in 1927 he schemed to split the Party by colluding with the Trotskyites to form a so-called "Leninist Left-Wing Opposition Party." The "Left" opportunist lines of Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming adopted a sectarian cadre policy which ousted and attacked comrades upholding the correct line. To split the Party, Rightist Lo Chang-lung set up another Party Central Committee. Chang Kuo-tao also set up one during the Long March in an effort to split the Party and the Red Army. After China was liberated, Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih formed an anti-Party alliance in order to usurp the highest power of the Party and state. Peng Teh-huai opposed the Party's general line and dreamt of usurping power. Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers recruited renegades and turncoats and formed their private cliques, setting up a bourgeois headquarters in a vain attempt to usurp Party and state power, subvert the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism.

Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has firmly carried out the struggle between the two lines, overcome the successive opportunist lines, shattered the anti-Party sectarian cliques, repudiated their crimes of splitting the Party, and thus constantly strengthened and consolidated our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally to achieve unity among the Party's cadres and the people of the whole country and victory in the revolution.

Curing the Sickness to Save the Patient

Marxism-Leninism holds that man's correct knowledge of objective things can only be gained after a repeated process of practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. Man learns from his failures and by correcting mistakes is gradually able to make his knowledge conform to objective laws. It is hard for cadres to completely avoid making mistakes of one kind or another in the course of revolutionary practice due to various subjective and objective reasons. As Lenin pointed out about people "who make no mistakes": "There are no such men nor can there be. He is wise who makes not very serious mistakes and who knows how to correct them easily and quickly."

"Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones and cure the sickness to save the patient" is our Party's principle in correctly treating cadres who have made mistakes.

Chairman Mao has always stressed that in waging inner-Party struggle, we must first be clear on who are our enemies and who are the people, and make a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions--those between ourselves and the enemy, and those among the people themselves. We must thoroughly expose and resolutely expel from the Party proven renegades, enemy agents, absolutely unrepentant capitalist-roaders and alien class elements and degenerates, so as to purify the Party ranks and consolidate its unity. Towards comrades who have committed mistakes, however, we should mainly use the method of education, following the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient." In the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out that "we must permit cadres to make mistakes and permit them to correct mistakes. We must not overthrow them once they make a mistake." "We must unite with and educate cadres who have made mistakes, including those who have made serious mistakes, provided they do not persist in their mistakes and refuse to correct them after repeated education."

In opposition to Chairman Mao's correct policy, the heads of the various opportunist lines have pushed an erroneous policy of "ruthless struggle and merciless blows." In the Cultural Revolution, Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers obstructed and undermined Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, pushing a line which was "Left" in form but Right in essence--"hitting hard at the many and protecting their own handful." In doing so, they deliberately mixed up the two different types of contradictions, brought confusion to the class ranks and overthrew revolutionary cadres to promote their henchmen and confederates so as to attain the criminal aim of splitting the Party ranks, destroying its unity and usurping Party leadership.

We talk of unity on the basis of principle. Chairman Mao pointed out: "What do we mean by unity? Of course we mean unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and not unprincipled unity." Towards cadres who have committed mistakes, the policy of "unity--criticism--unity" must be adhered to. We oppose both the "Left" tendency of wanting only struggle to the exclusion of unity and the Right tendency of wanting only unity to the exclusion of struggle. We must start out from the desire for unity and expose their mistakes, wage active ideological struggle, analyse and criticize those mistakes with a scientific attitude and distinguish between right and wrong, so that they thoroughly understand the reasons for their mistakes, the circumstances in which they were committed and the ways to overcome them, so as to avoid repeating them in the future. Cadres who have committed mistakes should accept criticism modestly, do their best to overcome them, remold their world outlook, and return to the Marxist-Leninist stand. The aim of exposing and criticizing mistakes is to "cure the patient," not "doctor him to death." Therefore, we must adopt the principle of being strict in criticizing erroneous thoughts while being lenient in dealing with these comrades organizationally. We must have a careful attitude in handling cases of individual comrades, neither glossing over things nor harming comrades, giving them a chance to correct their errors, giving them work and trust, and letting them make new contributions to the cause of the Party and the people. Only a unity on such a basis is genuine unity.

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Thorough criticism and repudiation is being made of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on cadres pushed by Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers in the current nationwide education movement on ideological and political line. Chairman Mao's line and policies on this question is increasingly being grasped by the people. Across China, from factories to villages, from government organizations to schools, staunch, united, vigorous cadre ranks are leading the masses of the people in carrying out the line formulated by the Ninth Party Congress in 1969, which is "Unite to win still greater victories!"

Requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat:

They must be genuine Marxist-Leninists and not revisionists like Khrushchov wearing the cloak of Marxism-Leninism.

They must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people of China and the whole world.

They must be proletarian statesmen capable of uniting and working together with the overwhelming majority. Not only must they unite with those who agree with them, they must also be good at uniting with those who disagree and even with those who formerly opposed them and have since been proved wrong in practice.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership based on the principle of "from the masses, to the masses," and must cultivate a democratic style and be good at listening to the masses.

They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work.

2 Mountain-stronghold mentality was a tendency to form cliques which arose mainly out of the circumstances of protracted guerrilla war in which rural revolutionary bases were scattered and cut off from each other. Most of these bases were first established in mountain regions. Each tended to regard itself as a compact unit, like a single mountain stronghold, and this wrong tendency became known as mountain-stronghold mentality.

From Peking Review
July 7, 1972

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LLENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

August 24, 1972

Editorial Statement

REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES AND LAVA REVISIONIST RENEGADES
UNLEASH PUT-UP BOMBINGS AND SHOOT-OUTS IN THE MANILA-RIZAL REGION

In the days closely preceding the first anniversary of the second Plaza Miranda massacre, a series of minor and isolated bombing incidents mostly in Quezon City and one supposed ambush on a Metrocom unit in Marikina, Rizal were reported by the reactionary armed forces. Acting under the orders of the U.S.-Marcos clique, the officials of the reactionary armed forces, especially PC chieftain Fidel Ramos and Metrocom chieftain Montoya, repeatedly made the patently mendacious claim that the New People's Army and the national democratic mass organizations were responsible for these incidents.

It was clear that these incidents were merely fabricated mainly to slander the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, national democratic organizations and all other progressive and patriotic forces. By pretending to go on "red alert" and taking a belligerent posture because of these incidents which they themselves fabricated, the reactionary armed forces and metropolitan police tried to whip up an atmosphere by which they could attack or at least discourage the commemoration of the Plaza Miranda massacre. But once more the people were neither cowed nor deceived and spoke out and acted boldly in the exercise of their democratic rights at Plaza Miranda.

The bombing incidents were without the least political value in favor of the revolutionary movement whereas in fact the people have always demanded that if there is to be any worthwhile bombing it should be in the direction of Marcos and the military personnel that always surround him. The people are confident that any punitive action against their enemy would be conducted without innocent civilians being hurt and without any prankishness.

The supposed ambush of a Metrocom unit by a squad of the New People's Army in Marikina, Rizal is one more put-up job of the U.S.-Marcos clique. Pictures issued by the reactionary armed forces showed that the front windows of a Metrocom car were completely smashed and the caption of the pictures stated that the patrol car underwent automatic fire of M-14 rifles even as it boasted none of the soldiers occupying the car was hurt.

Of course, the people openly wish that the New People's Army had indeed ambushed a Metrocom unit. But the event simply did not occur. That the military propagandists of the U.S.-Marcos clique would volunteer to claim that such an event occurred once more gives away the sinister plot it has been building up for quite sometime.

(over)

The U.S.-Marcos clique is determined to retain itself in power by fabricating certain incidents calculated to create an emergency situation, a situation by which it can declare martial law at an opportune moment. We have ample information on the plot of the U.S.-Marcos clique to undertake senseless bombings and shoot-outs that will culminate eventually in the disruption of a number of public meetings of both the Nacionalista and Liberal Parties during the electoral campaign period of 1973. So, even without having either Marcos or his wife run for any national office, the U.S.-Marcos clique may still retain power by declaring that peaceful conditions for the bourgeois elections are impossible. The shoot-outs are plotted to be undertaken with the M-14 rifles in the hands of the reactionary armed forces. The fake Marikina encounter is a clear beginning of the use of the M-14 rifles to carry-out a plot of intrigue and slander against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and all other forces opposed to the U.S.-Marcos clique. This plot is calculated to pave the way for a fascist dictatorship in the country.

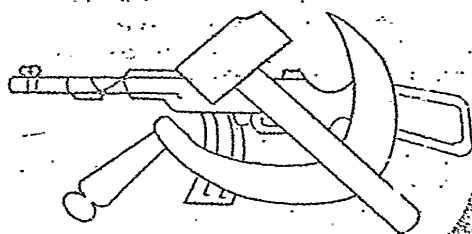
The Lava revisionist renegades have an important share in the execution of the evil plot of the U.S.-Marcos clique. These scoundrels have repeatedly claimed in their bulletin of anti-communism responsibility for a number of terrorist activities in the Manila-Rizal region. But never for a single instance have they been taken to task for their mischief by the reactionary military officials who obviously are their accomplices in crime. A gang led by two notorious hoodlums, Masbad and "Ngiwi" Santos from Taytay, Rizal and Sampaloc, Manila, respectively, are publicly-known links between the Lava revisionist renegades and certain reactionary military officials.

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army are determined to expose every fakery and to deal real deathblows against the U.S.-Marcos clique. As the broad masses of the people so demand, the New People's Army is ever more determined to wipe out more die-hards and enemy troops of the U.S.-Marcos clique. In that manner, everyone can see more clearly the difference between a genuine military operation of the New People's Army and what is not.

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

Special Release

(English Edition)

August 28, 1972

Editorial Statement

ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON "PARITY RIGHTS"

There are two major points in the Supreme Court decision of August 17 on the Quasha case. The first is the ruling that private agricultural lands are outside the scope of "parity rights" and that retention or acquisition of such by American entities (save in cases of hereditary succession) after the "grant" of Philippine independence is contrary to the Philippine Constitution. The second is the ruling that the expiration of the Parity Amendment on July 3, 1974 does not allow American citizens and American-owned or controlled corporations to continue enjoying "parity rights" on holdings previously acquired.

It appears that the Supreme Court decision is progressive and patriotic. But it is not completely so. Though the decision is on a particular case, involving a particular piece of land owned by the American lawyer William R. Quasha, it does not carry a specific and explicit order for immediate confiscation without compensation despite the fact that the acquisition of the land is in violation of law from the very beginning. The decision declares that the land in question is subject to escheat proceedings but it leaves a wide ground for Quasha and his kind to maneuver and even escape confiscation by the state.

Supreme Court action on the motion for reconsideration by Quasha can drag on until such time that all American holders of private agricultural lands shall have taken all steps to circumvent the decision of August 17. It is relevant to note that it took more than three years for a decision to be reached by the Supreme Court on the Quasha case. A new decision of the same court may even go as far as to dictate "just compensation" for the illegal landholdings and insist on the most reactionary meaning of the term as "current fair market value". It can go into the most cumbersome classification of the illegal American landholdings and the improvements (including structures) made thereon.

Another possible ploy of the Supreme Court is to leave the procedures of expropriation to the executive or legislative department. In any case, as in the Supreme Court, the U.S.-Marcos clique will have its way in allowing the American usurpers of private agricultural lands to take the most unjust opportunities in circumventing the people's clamor for confiscation without compensation.

The U.S.-Marcos clique and other reactionaries have been whining about "justice and fairness" for American citizens and corporations that have holdings affected by the precedent and policy set by the decision of August 17. It is completely absurd that while the U.S.-Marcos clique excels in demanding "just compensation"

it excels at the same time in hollering that the Philippine government and Filipino businessmen cannot afford to provide such "just compensation". Instead of acting towards the immediate confiscation without compensation of all lands that have been illegally retained or acquired by foreigners, the U.S.-Marcos clique has resorted to various tricks to assure the American malefactors of continued control over extensive building sites, factory sites, plantations and the like and even to denounce the people as unjust and unfair for demanding confiscation without compensation.

A "study" committee has been created by the U.S.-Marcos clique to assume the function of protecting the interests of U.S. entities against the people's clamor for immediate confiscation without compensation. This committee is dominated by such notorious fellow puppets of Marcos as Justice Secretary Abad Santos, a long-time lawyer of local U.S. firms; Executive Secretary Melchor, a C.I.A. agent; National Economic Council Chairman Sicat, an errand boy of U.S. economic advisers; and Finance Secretary Virata, a notorious advocate of "national treatment" for U.S. economic domination. Even before the committee can go through the motion of undertaking studies, Finance Secretary Virata has already started to publicly declare the minimum ways by which the U.S. enterprises can circumvent the Supreme Court decision.

Some of the ways in effect are the following:

1. The U.S. entities affected by the Supreme Court decision can create dummy corporations which appear to be the purchasers and new owners of the landholdings in question. Forty per cent of the capital structure of such corporations is placed under the solid ownership and control of the previous American landholder and sixty per cent of the same is under the dispersed ownership of the Filipino employees and associates of the previous American landholder. In this manner, there is compliance with the constitutional requirement of sixty per cent Filipino ownership of corporations holding private agricultural lands. But the Filipino co-owners are deprived of actual control because of the dispersed character of their petty shares.

2. The Philippine government can purchase some of the American landholdings and then lease them back to the previous American holders. The National Development Corporation can be used for the purpose. Also, the Board of Investments or some new governmental agency can be authorized by Congress to serve the same purpose. Under this procedure, the bureaucrat capitalists can have one more source of graft as they negotiate and conclude purchase and lease agreements with U.S. enterprises.

The Supreme Court confidently pulls the rug from under the theory of "vested rights". But it is obvious that it has done so only because the U.S. imperialists upon the expiration of the Parity Amendment can very well make use of the old constitutional rule of 60-40 equity ratio to continue to utilize private and public lands, exploit natural resources and operate public utilities. The Virata-Bradermann communique states clearly how the U.S. imperialists can use this old constitutional provision, together with the Investment Incentives Law and a new treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, to keep the Filipino people in economic enslavement. Some Soriano corporations and the Benguet Consolidated, Inc. are raucously showing how, after the expiration of "parity rights", they can take advantage of the constitutional requirement of 60-40 equity ratio. Philippine Society and Revolution exposes under the section of U.S. imperialism such tricks available to U.S. imperialism in its scheme to suck more blood from the people after the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement.

The Supreme Court has based its decision on the Quasha case on the outgoing Philippine Constitution. There is an incoming constitution which can be drafted in such a manner as to allow the U.S. imperialists to continue enjoying "parity rights". The prospective new constitution may either explicitly bless or simply make no kind of restriction on such a piece of law as the Investment Incentives Law or a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with the United States or such projects as free trade zones, and the U.S. imperialists will continue to enjoy the most extraordinary privileges even after the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. Under the Investment Incentives Law alone, Philippine

corporations are allowed to be more than 40 per cent owned and controlled by foreign investors under such pretexts as that they are in "preferred" and "pioneering" areas. In the wake of the Supreme Court decision, the Marcos clique has sharply expressed its concern over the oil exploration and drilling investments of U.S. petroleum companies to which obviously it has given assurances of continued "parity rights" even after the expiration of the Parity Amendment.

As the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement are about to expire, the U.S. imperialists and their die-hard puppets unlike before acknowledge the huge amount of U.S. investments and assets in the country and at the same time keep on saying that both the Philippine government and Filipino businessmen are in no position to offer "just compensation". This is adding insult to injury. The U.S. imperialists have deliberately bankrupted the Philippines through huge remittances of profits, crippling foreign loans, unproductive projects and corrupt practices. As the U.S. imperialists now demand "just compensation", the puppet officials yelp that there are no funds to buy them out.

But "lack of funds" is no argument that can dissuade the people from nationalizing U.S.-owned and controlled enterprises. It is precisely an argument for confiscation without compensation. In this light, to advocate the confiscation of U.S. business enterprises without compensation becomes just. In return for the initial investments that they have brought into the country, the U.S. imperialists have in more than seven decades remitted home superprofits that have surely overcompensated them ten thousand times over or even more. It is common knowledge that any new U.S. investment is recouped and rakes in superprofits in one year or two years. This is gross injustice and unfairness to the exploited and oppressed Filipino people!

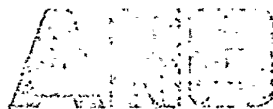
However, it is in good form to agree to expropriation with compensation only in cases of U.S. enterprises that have no record of direct involvement in criminal plots against the people and only when the compensation can be made in a period of at least twenty years and the annual payment amounting to five per cent can be drawn from the income of the nationalized enterprises. In all cases, it is just to compute how much profits have been previously made by the American investors and how much taxes they have failed to pay due to imperialist privileges and also due to the old bourgeois trick of declaring a "book value" (for tax purposes) as against the "market value" (for business purposes).

Regarding the private agricultural lands usurped by American citizens and corporations, the Communist Party of the Philippines stands firmly for their immediate confiscation without compensation. Regarding the structures and improvements made on the usurped lands, confiscation should also be the general rule to be followed and applied. The Party condemns the puppetry and obsequiousness to U.S. imperialism of the Marcos clique and some other reactionaries for refusing to take firm measures to immediately confiscate these illegal U.S. holdings. If taken, such measures would constitute a modest and mild step forward towards the nationalization of the economy. The Supreme Court decision of August 17 has somehow unwittingly shown who the traitors are and who the patriots are.

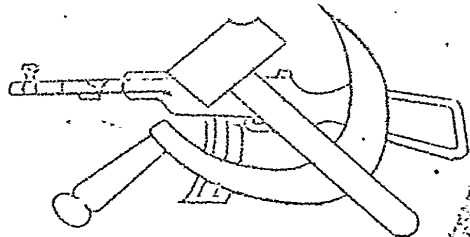
The American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines is not bothered at all by the Supreme Court decision on the Quasha case. That is because it still has shameless puppets in power in the country. It has even issued an arrogant statement which runs thus: "Some sectors have misinterpreted the decision as meaning an end to all American-controlled businesses after July 4, 1974. This is not correct . . ."

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the most firm advocate of the nationalization of the economy. It is the only party that can lead the broad masses of the people towards total economic emancipation and political liberation. So long as U.S. monopoly capitalism and its running dogs have a stranglehold over the Philippine economy, national independence remains an aspiration that the Filipino people have to fiercely fight for and can achieve only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat and its Party.

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PANAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PUNLA NG BAGONG PILIPINAS
MAKISMA-LENINISMO-KALSTPANG HAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

September 8, 1972

STATEMENT ON THE "PSY-WAR" CAMPAIGN
OF THE U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads and commands, warns Marcos, Enrile and Ramos that now and even long after they are out of power they shall be accountable for the bloody crimes that they commit against the people.

The Party is sharply aware of the fact that a "psy-war" campaign is now being undertaken throughout the country by the U.S.-Marcos clique and the reactionary armed forces in order to slander and discredit not only the Party and the people's army but also democratic organizations and personalities exercising their rights.

This "psy-war" campaign has taken a serious turn with the reported bombing of a church in Agdangan, Quezon and the bombing of a Manila department store which has killed and seriously wounded ordinary people, mostly women. These have been preceded by bombings on buildings and public utility pipes and false bomb alarms in private and government offices which can only be worthy of a prankster were it not for the fact that the U.S.-Marcos clique has malicious purposes behind them.

With the latest turn of events, the Party is deeply concerned that the U.S.-Marcos clique will actually conduct in urban areas assassinations and arson that it will try to present as the realization of the "July-August Plan" and "September-October Plan". These "plans" are fabrications of the U.S.-Marcos clique. They have the same garbage character as that of the "July-August Plan" of last year which it fabricated in connection with the second Plaza Miranda massacre and by which it tried to sow terror through bombings of no favorable consequence to the revolutionary mass movement.

The Party cannot sit idle while the U.S.-Marcos clique practically monopolizes Congress, the courts and the tripartite system to serve its ruling interests and obstruct the revolutionary struggle of the people.

The Party has to alert up even the people immediately and fully see through the strategy and the threats of the U.S.-Marcos clique. Indeed, they have not done the least physical harm to our armed enemies and have on the contrary hurt innocent people whom we are bound by revolutionary conviction to serve to our last breath.

(over)

These malicious incidents carry the indelible fascist trademark of the U.S.-Marcos clique. They are calculated to create a situation by which this clique can suppress the national and democratic rights of the people and retain its wobbly power against the people's will.

The tracks of the U.S.-Marcos clique are splattered with the people's blood. But the people will never be cowed and will always fight back. More terrorism from the U.S.-Marcos clique will only hasten its doom.

The Communist Party, together with the New People's Army, once more declares its firm policy of opposing urban terrorism, be it the joint or separate work of the U.S.-Marcos clique and the Lava revisionist renegades. This terrorism runs counter to our fundamental principle of launching military operations that do not harm the people and also to our strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside before seizing them in the final phase of protracted people's war.

To stress our point, we assure the U.S.-Marcos clique of more military operations like the recent wiping out of a truckload of armed enemy troops at Barrio Bacolod, Cauayan, Isabela. We have no use for burning or spraying bullets into the houses of civilians or bombings in places where the victims are most likely civilians or urban assassinations where the victims do not deserve the death penalty and where the odds are too great for our comrades. Such can only be the tactics of fascists or putschists and not of genuine revolutionaries.

The present "psy-war" campaign of the U.S.-Marcos clique and the reactionary armed forces is bound to fail because it is unjust and stupid and because it grossly underestimates the people's consciousness and readiness to revolt against tyranny.

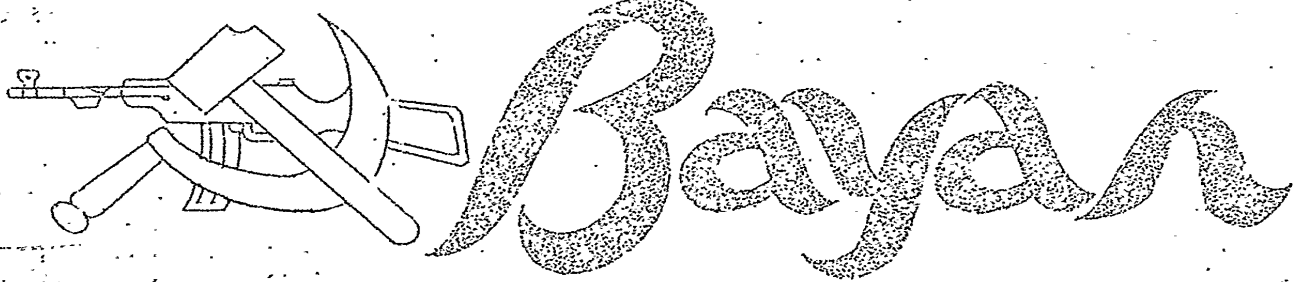
For the CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
September 7, 1972

* * *

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
 PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
 MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

October 12, 1972

Editorial Statement

DICTATOR MARCOS USES CON-CON
 TO REMAIN IN POWER AFTER 1973

The fascist dictator Marcos will remain in Malacanang even after 1973, when he shall have completed eight years of the most brutal and most corrupt puppet rule ever experienced by the Filipino people. There will definitely be no presidential elections in November 1973. But sometime next year there will be a bogus plebiscite which will certainly result in the bogus ratification of the bogus constitution now being hurriedly drafted by the Marcos-dominated constitutional convention. The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is interested in using this bogus constitution as the fig leaf for both its usurpation and perpetuation of absolute power by naked armed force against the people's will.

As has been fixed up under conditions of martial rule, the bogus constitution provides for the incumbent president to remain in office from December 30, 1973 to June 30, 1976 and for him to act during the same period as the presiding officer of the ad interim national assembly, otherwise referred to as the "transition government" or "provisional government". Under the fascist dictatorship, the assembly will be composed exclusively of Marcos-lining delegates in the constitutional convention and Marcos-lining members of Congress. It will certainly exclude all those who are opposed to the Marcos fascist gang who have come either under camp detention, under house arrest or under such threats as detention, assassination, vilification and arbitrary dispossession.

The bogus constitution allows the fascist dictator to enjoy vast powers, including the continued operation of martial rule on the basis of his personal judgment. Thus, he will still be able to perpetuate himself in power from 1973 onwards by armed force. He will simply maintain martial rule on the flimsiest grounds and continuously suppress every kind of legal opposition. All members of the ad interim national assembly will continue to be under the duress of martial rule as well as subject to cajolery and manipulation by the fascist dictator, who will dangle to so many members of the ad interim national assembly so few a number of seats at stake in the May 1976 parliamentary elections. It is certain that he will have himself made the prime minister in 1976.

However, the fascist dictatorship will never succeed to deceive the people with the bogus constitution. The people know that this scrap of paper is nothing but the product of a captive constitutional convention under the armed control of a fascist dictatorship. They know that as a result of fascist rule the reactionary constitutional convention has become more than ever a farce, a mere puppet show serving the extremely narrow and selfish interests of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Since the

issuance of Proclamation No. 1081, all delegates opposed to the anti-national and anti-democratic dictates of the U.S.-Marcos clique have been purged out of the reactionary constitutional convention and have been either put under camp detention, under house arrest or under such threats as detention, assassination, vilification and arbitrary dispossession. In line with its evil purposes, the fascist dictatorship has completely deprived all delegates of the reactionary constitutional convention of their supposed right to parliamentary immunity.

The "plebiscite" slated for next year will be one more big swindling act of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The formulation of questions to be answered by yes or no will be made in a manner as to favor the fascist dictatorship. Then, no matter which way the voting will go, the fascist military will make sure that the counting of votes will go in favor of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Besides, the basic democratic rights, particularly the freedom of assembly and of association as well as the freedom of speech and of the press, shall continue to be suppressed. The Marcos manipulation of previous elections through the use of the reactionary armed forces will certainly become a far cry from the forthcoming "plebiscite".

In assuming that he can make use of the reactionary armed forces for every criminal purpose, the fascist dictator is cocksure about being able to remain in power for "two years or more". As immediately implied by his big pretense, which is not only "to save the republic" but also "to build a new society", Marcos is clearly hell-bent on remaining in power and monopolizing it for a long time to come. Completely isolated from the broad masses of the people, he cannot be but the instrument of the most rapacious forces: U.S. imperialism, the big comprador bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. And being a comprador-landlord-bureaucrat himself with an insatiable greed for power and wealth, he has set himself and his own clique of oligarchs into violent conflict with other reactionaries.

In truth, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is aggravating the oppressiveness and exploitativeness of the old society and is hastening the collapse of the puppet republic. The entire ruling system is now violently split all over the country as the fascist dictator makes use of brute force to concentrate power and wealth in his filthy hands. The fascist dictatorship has only served to show in the most brazen manner that the reactionaries can no longer rule in the old way. The political and economic crisis of the ruling system is bound to become graver and more fatal under the fascist dictatorship. The political and economic crisis of U.S. imperialism is the sure-fire guarantee for the worst of crisis for the reactionary puppets in the Philippines.

Because bestiality has become the enemy's open style of rule and the least semblance of democracy has been suppressed, the broad masses of the people have become more intensely aware than ever before of the fact that only an armed revolution can frustrate the armed counterrevolution in the long run. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have unprecedentedly expanded and a new level of revolutionary struggle has emerged. The armed revolutionary movement is bound to grow from small to big all over the country and will outlast and finally defeat the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Upon their victory, the broad masses of the people will convene a genuine constitutional convention and create a constitution that will truly serve their national and democratic interests.

The Filipino proletariat and its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, are determined to complete the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war. The main content of this revolution and civil war is the fulfillment of the peasants' demand for land. The agrarian revolution will, therefore, be carried out more vigorously even as the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is dead-set on both intimidating the peasant masses with large-scale military operations and on deceiving them on the matter of land reform. Together in a basic alliance, the proletariat and the peasantry conjoin with the urban petty bourgeoisie and also with the national bourgeoisie to fight uncompromisingly for the people's democracy against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and all the rottenness that it stands for.

October 10, 1972



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 10, 1972

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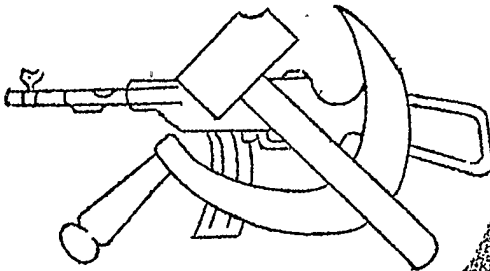
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

(Dateline at Washington, D.C.)

On various occasions during the period September, 1971, through August, 1972, a source advised that a revolutionary group in the United States was regularly receiving the "English Edition" of the publication, "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, a "Special Release" of "Ang Bayan" appears to be published irregularly, sometimes several times in one month, and later these releases usually are included in a regular issue of "Ang Bayan". The regular issues and the special releases all are produced on legal-sized paper, and the initial page of each bears a heading which is reproduced below:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

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OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY II
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON - INDEFINITE

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The source has advised that the issues and special releases of "Ang Bayan" were sent [redacted] from the Philippines and that up until October, 1972, [redacted] noted by the source [redacted]

Source added that most of these [redacted]

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P.O. Box 80
Makati Commercial Center
Makati, Rizal
Philippines

On October 30, 1972, source advised that the revolutionary organization in the United States [redacted]

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On November 3, 1972, the source advised that the revolutionary organization in the United States had received two Special Releases of "Ang Bayan" [redacted]

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One of the two "Ang Bayan" releases received in [redacted] was a two page release dated October 12, 1972, captioned: "DICTATOR MARCOS"

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

USES CON-CON TO REMAIN IN POWER AFTER 1973". This release declares that a "Marcos-dominated constitutional convention" is drafting a "bogus constitution" which will permit the Philippines President to remain in office and preside over the ad interim national assembly. The release declares: "The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is interested in using this bogus constitution as a fig leaf for both its usurpation and perpetuation of absolute power by naked armed force against the people's will". The last paragraph of this special release begins with the following statement: "The Filipino proletariat and its revolutionary party, the Communist Party of the Philippines, are determined to complete the people's democratic revolution through a protracted people's war."

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The other Special Release which was received [redacted] was dated [redacted] October 1, 1972 and captioned: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY". It consists of 13 legal-sized pages in small print and is a lengthy statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, setting forth its response to the proclamation of martial law by the Philippine Government. The release declares that "This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos Clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle."

The last section of this statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, starting on page 10 of the "Ang Bayan" release dated October 1, 1972, discusses what that party plans to do to counteract the declaration of martial law and to defeat the Philippine Government. Xeroxed reproduction of this section is set out on the following pages of instant communication:

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the New Situation

The setting up of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an "unlimited form of martial law" and under the fascist principle that "all power can be given to the military" has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as commander-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as anti-national, anti-republican, anti-democratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the U.S.-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking every possible and necessary step to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has resulted in an increase of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, there are three things that stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting

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cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, it can be relied upon to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1001.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrillas and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the localities and has gained wide support from the peasant masses and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

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While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by waging the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly

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represented. The Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with the drawing up of the programme of the National Democratic Front should be referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we are hereby making a pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our programme for a people's democratic revolution:

1. To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;
2. To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship;
3. To help re-establish the democratic rights of all anti-fascist forces, including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;
4. To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments, military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;
5. To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his dihard accomplices for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capital holdings and landholdings) of the Marcos fascist clique and likewise those of all U.S. imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and
6. To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by U.S. imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship:

1. The Party should vigorously fulfill its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.

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2. The Party should assign more cadres of workers as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army through the various regional Party committees. The people's army is the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be established at the company level or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The nonpayment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This is also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the guerrilla units of the New People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the Red fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

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3. The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres and members. The more the fascist dictatorship madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is mad enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

4. The Party should vigorously arouse and mobilize the student masses against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militance among them, the student masses could

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be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should have been opened on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for sometime cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate members. Party groups which are in the midst of the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

5. The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is anti-national to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to make propaganda in support of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is anti-democratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among

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their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anti-communist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the anti-fascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed. The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.

6. The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard-pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

7. The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of U.S. imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

C. The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tirurays, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the "Muslim" areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.

9. The Party should seek and develop an anti-fascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reaction-

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

aries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the "private armies" and especially since the second Plaza Miranda massacre. Although the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of "bipartisan" support for the "Marcos party", the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People's Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people's army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People's Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

10. The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front with religious groups and semi-religious groups that are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party's ideology but who would agree with the Party's political programme and line.

11. The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half-a-million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, they will

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

12. The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'etat with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from U.S. imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is turned to ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force, capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

October 1, 1972

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

San Francisco, California

November 10, 1972

Title	COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES
Reference	San Francisco memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 11/10/72

FROM : ACTING SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES / M-L
IS - PHILIPPINES

Re San Francisco letter to the Bureau dated 11/8/71, captioned "REVOLUTIONARY UNION", which advised that [redacted] had furnished information indicating the Revolutionary Union (RU) had been receiving press releases and literature from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) for several months.

b7D

Enclosed for the Bureau are twelve (12) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above, but datelined at Washington, D.C. to more fully protect the identity of [redacted]. Also enclosed for the Bureau are two (2) xeroxed copies, each, of the following eight publications of the CCP:

b7D

1. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/4/72, entitled: "EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE DELUGE IN LUZON" and "CHINA'S TEN CARDINAL PRINCIPLES ON AMENDING 'DECLARATION ON HUMAN ENVIRONMENT'" (The first section declares the severe floods resulted from deforestation "under the U.S. imperialist policy of counter-insurgency". The second part

- 6 - Bureau (Encls. 28) (RM)
(2 - Legat, Manila)
(1 - 105-184369) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])
- 4 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-26375)
(1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
(1 - 100-61281) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])

JES/pkv (S-7)
(10)

one set detached (#1-8)
+ given to [redacted]

0-7
11/22/72
- info



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

105-88-11

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[redacted]

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JES/pkv

quotes from the "Peking Review" of 6/23/72, the statement of the Chinese delegations to the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment.)

2. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/5/72, entitled: "SEVEN BSDU MEMBERS JOIN THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY" (This includes translation and facimile of the letter of the seven Barrio Self-Defense Unit members dated 7/18/72.)
3. "Ang Bayan", Vol. IV, No. 3, dated 8/6/72 (This has 47 pages of text.)
4. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/24/72, entitled: "REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES AND LAVA REVISIONIST RENEGADES UNLEASH PUT-UP BOMBINGS AND SHOOT-OUTS IN THE MANILA-RIZAL REGION" (This release claims that the Philippine Government had fabricated an ambush, so as to provide an excuse for imposing martial law.)
5. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 8/28/72, entitled: "ON THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON PARITY RIGHTS" (This holds that although the Philippine Supreme Court appears to have made a good ruling against American landholding in the Philippines, yet it has not denied compensation to the American landholder.)
6. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 9/8/72, captioned: "STATEMENT ON THE PSY-WAR CAMPAIGN OF THE U.S.-MARCOS CLIQUE" (This release accuses the Philippine Government of psychological warfare in blaming the CCP for bombing atrocities.)
7. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/1/72, entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" (This is a 13 page statement by the CCP concerning its reaction to and plans to counteract the Philippine Government's declaration of martial law.)
8. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/12/72, entitled: "DICTATOR MARCOS USES CON-CON TO REMAIN IN POWER AFTER 1973" (This declares that the Philippine Constitutional Convention is simply a method by which President MARCOS can retain control of the government.)

SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

Source mentioned [REDACTED]
who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA JAMES E. SHERRIFF.

b7D

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further protect the identity of [REDACTED] a source of continuing value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known. Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.

b7D

Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 4-28-72)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
(Copies of this document are classified)
DATE 04-26-2012 BY 60324/UC/baw/sab/aio

TO: SAC:

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☐ Albuquerque
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☐ Anchorage
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☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
☐ Chicago
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☐ London
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☐ Manila
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RE:

Date 1-15-73

PLANS OF THE CPP/ML TO ABANDON ITS LABOR
FRONTS AND USE FRONT MEMBERS TO PENETRATE
STRATEGIC INSTITUTIONS

☒ For information ☐ Retention optional ☐ For appropriate action ☐ Surep, by _____
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

THIS MATERIAL REQUIRES
SPECIAL CLASSIFICATION

PROCEDURES, REFER TO SAC
LETTER 62-42 (G) DATED 105-88-13
8-7-62.

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LEGAL ATTACHE - MANILA	

ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

2/9/73

LEGAT, MANILA (105-88) (P)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES/MARXIST-LENINIST (CPP/ML)
IS - PHILIPPINES

ReSFlet 11/10/72, with enclosures.

The Manila Office maintains two files as the CPP is split with the CPP remaining pro-Moscow while the CPP/ML is pro-Peking. The former has MANfile 105-49 and the latter 105-88. The title has not been marked changed as Legat is not sure whether the Bureau and San Francisco will feel it worthwhile to split their case files between the two groups.

Copies of the "Ang Bayan" English editions provided by San Francisco have been furnished to the [redacted] [redacted] for their information.

b7D

San Francisco is requested to advise whether there is any objection to disseminating one copy of their LHM dated 11/10/72, to [redacted]

b7D

5 - Bureau
(1 - Foreign Liaison Desk)
(2 - San Francisco)(100-26375)
(1) - Manila
RJG-nme
(6)

[Handwritten signature]
14



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-26-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

January 5, 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

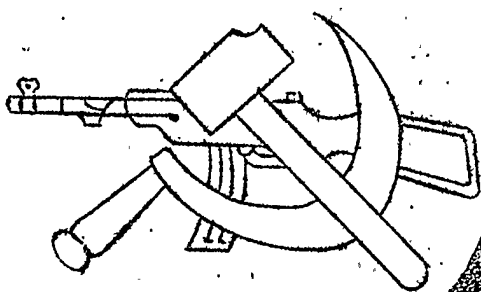
During December, 1972, a source made available five issues of the "English Edition" of "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, these publications had been received by a revolutionary organization in the United States [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] These publications were produced on legal-sized paper, and the first page of each is headed as follows:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Bayan

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL
DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE
OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY II
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON - INDEFINITE

105-88-15

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1cc sent NISRA, [redacted]
+ OSI, 2-23-73 nne

b7D

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

According to the source, none of [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Source noted [redacted]
[redacted] the printed return
address:

b7D

"FILRITERS GUARANTY ASSURANCE CORPORATION
P.O. BOX 2566, MANILA"

The five mentioned issues of "Ang Bayan" are described as follows:

Special Release dated September 9, 1972 entitled: "NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF 'ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION' IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 to MAY 1972". This is a four page publication with two sub-headings, "A Record of Significant Victories" and "Unity of the Army and the People - Guarantee of Victory". It states that "...the U.S.-Marcos clique had vainly hoped to destroy the guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones..." and that "For the first time in Northern Luzon, the U.S. imperialists employed American military personnel to participate in the campaign." The issue concludes with the statement: "Following firmly the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the broad masses of Red commanders and fighters are ever more determined to keep the Red flag flying and make more and greater contributions to the nationwide advance of the people's democratic revolution."

Special Release dated October 1, 1972 entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY". Source noted that the revolutionary organization which received these issues of "Ang Bayan" had previously received a copy of this Special Release, which consists of 13 legal-sized pages in small print and is a lengthy statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, setting forth its response to the proclamation of martial law by the Philippine Government.

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The release declares that "This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos Clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle." The last section of this statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, starting on page 10 of the "Ang Bayan" release dated October 1, 1972, discusses what that party plans to do to counteract the declaration of martial law and to overthrow the Philippine Government.

Special Release dated November 1, 1972 captioned: "MARCOS LAND REFORM--A BIG HOAX". This is a five page publication which begins with the statement: "The land reform touted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as the 'cornerstone' of or chief pretext for its unjust and indefinite rule is a big hoax".

Special Release dated November 15, 1972 captioned: "REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP". This is a three page publication which starts with the statement: "The revolutionary propaganda movement against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship continues to gain momentum despite severe fascist restrictions". Elsewhere in this issue it is claimed that within a short period after the "revolutionary mass organizations" were forced to go underground by the imposition of martial law, and especially after the statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on October 1, many revolutionary publications have been "effectively circulated". This issue of "Ang Bayan" lists some such publications and discusses other actions taken by various groups to protest the imposition of martial law in the Philippines. This issue closes with the following: "At present, cadres and activists in the propaganda front should exert more efforts to raise the level of propaganda work in terms of quality and quantity... Our success in this endeavor will help bring about the groundswell of popular protest and resistance that will wreck the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Special Release dated December 5, 1972 captioned: "THE 'NEW CONSTITUTION' IS A LICENSE OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

PEOPLE" This is a 12 page publication which starts with the statement: "Taking full advantage of its martial rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been able by armed force, bribery, and deceit to ram through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention a 'new constitution' which endorses Proclamation No. 1081, allows the fascist dictator Marcos to remain in power for as long as he can beyond 1973 and perpetuates the vile interests of U.S. imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism." This publication discusses various articles of the new constitution, finding many faults and closes with the following slogans:

"Reject the Marcos constitution!
"Expose the sham plebiscite!
"Down with the martial rule of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!
"Fight for national freedom and democracy!
"Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!
"Long live the Filipino people!
"Long live the Philippine revolution!"

This Special Release indicates at the end that it is a statement issued December 3, 1972 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

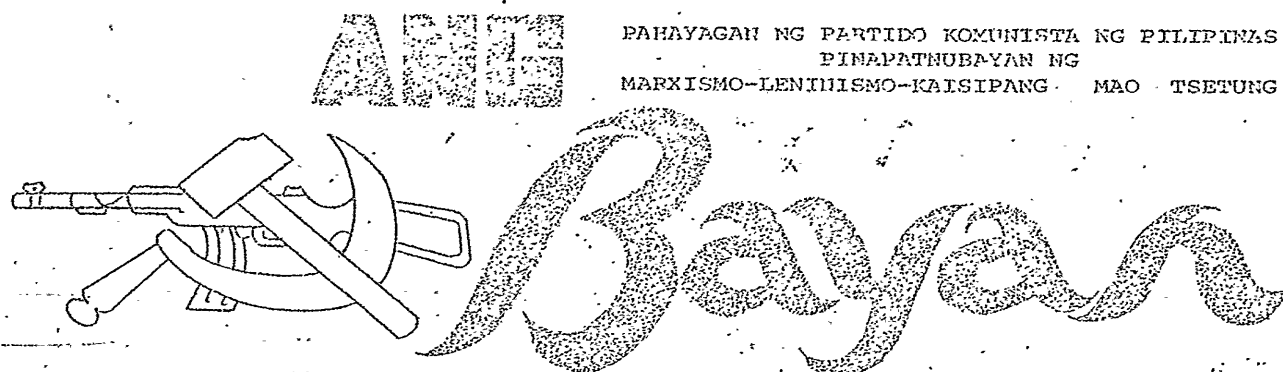
In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

January 5, 1973

Title	COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES
Reference	Washington, D.C. memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



Special Release

(English Edition)

September 9, 1972

NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF "ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION"
IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 TO MAY 1972

The New People's Army successfully thwarted the biggest campaign of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the reactionary armed forces in Northern Luzon from November of last year to May of this year. In this enemy campaign, the New People's Army scored significant victories, annihilating more than 250 enemy troops which included 92 confirmed dead and more than 162 wounded, seizing several arms and ammunitions and destroying several enemy outposts and transportation and communications equipment.

With this campaign, the U.S.-Marcos clique had vainly hoped to destroy the guerrilla bases and guerrilla zones, deprive the New People's Army of mass support and eventually smash it. The reactionary armed forces employed several thousand enemy troops which included the entire "Task Force Lawin", the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 10th and 11th Infantry Battalions, the entire forces of the P.C. Provincial Commands of Isabela, Cagayan, Quirino and Nueva Vizcaya, "scout rangers" and "trainees and special forces" from Fort Magsaysay. They also secured the services of the Lavaite agents and the BSDUs in the region.

For the first time in Northern Luzon, the U.S. imperialists employed American military personnel to participate in the campaign. More than 50 of them were reported in the company of the local reactionary troops obviously to help in planning and communications. These had been landed by Clark Air Base helicopters at Cordon, Isabela sometime last May.

The six-month enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" covered more than 90 per cent of the guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases in Northern Luzon and passed through three stages.

The first stage covered the second week of November 1971 up to the second week of February 1972. In this stage, the enemy used "harassing" tactics against the N.P.A. units in guerrilla zones in the provinces adjoining Isabela in the attempt to "pursue" and "drive away" the Red fighters towards the province of Isabela.

The second stage began on the second week of February and ended on the second week of April 1972. In this stage, the enemy planned to launch piecemeal operations of "sweeping up" and "searching and destroying". By such tactics, the reactionary armed forces hoped to drive the guerrilla squads from the plains and fringes of the forest area towards the Isabela forest and the Sierra Madre

mountains. Despite enemy actions, the First Regional Party Conference of Northern Luzon was successfully held in Isabela.

The third stage began on the second week of April and lasted to the end of May. The enemy placed blockades around Isabela, employed the "acreage" tactics in their "killing zones" and concentrated a big force to enter the Isabela section of the Sierra Madre mountains.

Throughout the enemy military campaign, the New People's Army, enjoying the support of the broad masses of the people, broke through the tight enemy encirclement, employed flexible tactics, utilized its mastery of the terrain and took the initiative in annihilating small and isolated enemy units. The rich experience that it gained in the fierce revolutionary struggle served to temper the Red fighters and the people and also paved the way for the expansion and consolidation of the revolutionary guerrilla areas.

A Record of Significant Victories

Firmly holding the gun and persevering in revolutionary armed struggle, the Red commanders and fighters chalked up a record of significant victories, among which are the following:

On December 9, 1971, during the first stage of the enemy campaign, a "sparrow unit" (simbad) of the New People's Army attacked the "Advanced Command Post" of "Task Force Lawin" in Echague, Isabela, killing and wounding 10 enemy troops, partially destroying the camp building and enemy communications equipment.

On December 11, another "sparrow unit" launched a night attack on the enemy army camp in Cauayan, Isabela, killing at least 20 reactionary troops and wounding more than 30, and destroying the enemy camp. On the same day, an N.P.A. squad attacked a MSDU camp in Coman, Ariga, Nueva Vizcaya, killing six reactionary troops and wounding many as well as destroying enemy communications equipment.

On February 29, 1972, during the second stage of the enemy campaign, an encounter took place between an N.P.A. platoon and an enemy unit in Bo. Madadamian, Echague, Isabela. The Red fighters killed two enemy troops and wounded three others. They also captured M-79 and M-16 ammunitions and other military equipment.

On March 16, in order to break through an enemy encirclement, an N.P.A. squad fought an enemy platoon in Bo. San Rafael, San Guillermo, Isabela, killing one and seriously wounding five enemy troops.

On March 24, an encounter took place between an N.P.A. squad and an enemy platoon in Sitio Cabaswagan, Bo. Limbawan, San Pablo, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and seven others were wounded.

On March 28, while a unit of Red women fighters were conducting a mass meeting in Bo. Dicamay, San Mariano, Isabela, an enemy helicopter loaded with enemy troops arrived obviously for a raid mission. Before it could land, the courageous women fighters opened fire and damaged the helicopter, sending it scampering away. The Red women fighters had quickly moved away before ground troops could arrive.

On April 13, 1972, during the third stage of the enemy campaign, an N.P.A. platoon led by Comrade Crispin Tugamolila attacked a MSDU-Army camp in Bos. Minori and Napaliong, Jones, Isabela. In two well-coordinated attacks, the Red fighters annihilated 21 enemy troops, including eight killed and 13 wounded, seriously damaged the enemy camp, destroyed an enemy armored car and other communications equipment.

On April 18, an N.P.A. squad ambushed an enemy squad in B. Soliven, Isabela. Three enemy troops were killed and five others were wounded. On that same day, an enemy squad tried to capture a Red fighter in Bo. Datapan, Benito Soliven, Isabela. Two enemy troops pursued the Red fighter while the rest positioned themselves along the road for an ambush. The Red fighter nimbly eluded the ambushing.

forces and lured the two pursuing enemy troops into the ambush site. A fierce exchange of fire ensued between the two groups of enemy soldiers. Two enemy troops died in the shoot-out.

On May 4, a group of Red fighters attacked a platoon of enemy troops at Didin Creek in Bo. Dicamay, San Mariano, Isabela. Five enemy troops were killed and more than 10 others were seriously wounded.

The next day, an unexpected encounter took place between a group of three Red fighters and enemy reinforcements. In the encounter, a Red fighter was seriously wounded. Knowing that the lives of the other two comrades would be endangered if they tried to help him move away, the Red fighter gave them his gun, kept a grenade and enjoined them to retreat while he covered them. After his two comrades had moved away at a safe distance, he waited for the enemy troops to approach and threw the grenade at them, killing more than five. The brave Red fighter fought to his last breath and died a hero's death.

On May 15, an N.P.A. squad fought two enemy squads in Bo. Rizal, San Guillermo, Isabela. The Red fighters annihilated 13 enemy troops, including three dead and 10 seriously wounded.

Unity of the Army and the People--Guarantee of Victory

The great struggle to foil the enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" in Northern Luzon was a magnificent manifestation of the unbreakable unity between the army and the people. It proved once more that the New People's Army is invincible because it truly serves the interests of the oppressed and exploited people and enjoys their immense support and sympathy.

With the forces that they could command, the reactionary military authorities ordered the perpetration of the most heinous crimes against the people under the fascist war-cry of "burn, kill and plunder". By such unmitigated barbarity, they had hoped to terrorize the people into passivity and "drive the fish out of the water".

In most of the barrios of Isabela, for example, the enemy tried to restrict the movements of the people by strictly imposing night curfew. Those found outside their homes, even if they were forced to go out by such a necessity as looking after their work animals, were immediately apprehended or shot at. Even at day-time, ordinary peasants on their way to their farms were waylaid by the enemy troops, bodily searched and investigated on the spot. Those found in what the fascist brutes considered as unlikely places were arrested, tortured and sometimes killed, after which they were reported as "N.P.A. commanders". Not content with restricting the barrio people's movements, the enemy troops resorted to burning or spraying with bullets the houses of those they suspected of sympathizing with the New People's Army. They did not spare even the womenfolk some of whom were arrested, humiliated and abused.

In many barrios, the enemy placed "checkpoints" for the purpose of enforcing a tight economic blockade against the people's army. Grain, food items and other basic necessities bought from the town were confiscated and kept in these "checkpoints" and were given to the people in limited amounts for fear that an "excess" might go to the Red fighters. Generally, the goods were never entirely recovered and most of them were consumed by the enemy troops. Apart from imposing a strict economic blockade, the fascist brutes resorted to stealing grains, butchering poultry and work animals, and stealing money and such other items as transistor radios, clothes and beddings.

But the masses were undaunted. In many barrios, for example, the people, under the leadership of underground Party cadres and the local organs of revolutionary political power, did their share in reconnaissance work on the movement and disposition of enemy troops. Throughout the enemy operation, members of the people's militia and self-defense corps helped in keeping an effective communications system among the guerrilla squads. Many of them ingeniously crossed enemy "checkpoints" at the risk of their lives and passed on to the Red fighters whatever information and material help they could give. In this way, the Red fighters

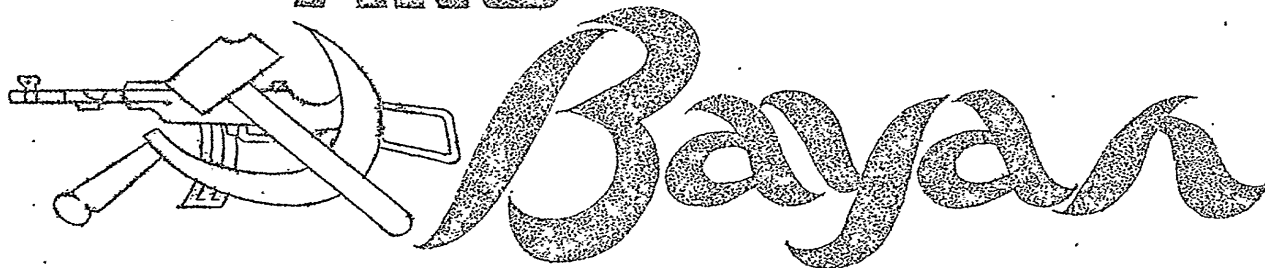
were able to surmount material difficulties and know in advance the enemy plans, avoid large concentrations of enemy forces and attack small and isolated enemy units.

The victories achieved by the New People's Army during the six-month enemy campaign of "encirclement and suppression" dashed to the ground the scheme of the U.S.-Marcos clique to destroy the New People's Army in Northern Luzon. Following firmly the correct leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the broad masses of Red commanders and fighters are ever more determined to keep the Red flag flying and make more and greater contributions to the nationwide advance of the people's democratic revolution.

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PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARKISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

October 1, 1972

OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

The essence of the formal declaration of martial law through Proclamation No. 1081 is the brazen imposition of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship on the entire Filipino nation and people. This proclamation is in effect the formal declaration of civil war by the U.S.-Marcos clique against the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it is in the final analysis the death sentence for its criminal authors because the people shall win in the end through revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the complete self-exposure of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the conditions for the rapid advance of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have become far more excellent than ever before. The ranks of the revolutionary movement have rapidly broadened and the various forms of revolutionary struggle, principally armed struggle, have further intensified.

A new level of revolutionary struggle has come about. All over the country, the people are brimming with revolutionary hatred for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the violent opposite of national freedom and democracy which they cherish. It is starkly clear to everyone that a fascist dictatorship, seeking to perpetuate itself through counterrevolutionary violence, can be overthrown only through revolutionary violence. The U.S.-Marcos clique has only dug deeper its grave.

The Usurpation of Absolute Power by the U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship

With an autocratic arrogance reminiscent of absolute monarchy in feudal times, the U.S.-Marcos clique has converted Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution into an overall license to suppress the sovereign rights of the Filipino people in violation of every concept of republicanism. It is the absurd stand of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship that it can declare and implement an "unlimited form of martial law". If the fascist logic of the dictatorship were to be followed, this particular constitutional provision should have merited

being the Preamble, Article I or Article II, but never lower than Article III entitled "Bill of Rights" of the reactionary constitution. Indeed, fascist dictators themselves wantonly violate the priority of principles laid down hypocritically in bourgeois constitutions and pick constitutional provisions out of context in order to suit their tyranny.

Without bothering to get any authorization from Congress, Marcos highhandedly signed Proclamation No. 1081 on September 21 and subsequently signed corresponding general orders, letters of instruction and a presidential decree on September 22 and September 23 before finally making them public at 7:15 on the evening of September 23, 1972. In his "background" speech for his prior acts, all essentially calculated to usurp and concentrate absolute governmental power in his hands and suppress every kind of democratic and revolutionary opposition to his regime, he boasted of wanting "to save the republic and to reform society" and of doing so in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces alone. In this regard, the puppet dictator Marcos keeps repeating "I" and "me personally" to stress his autocratic pretensions.

Proclamation No. 1081 lays down at length the pretexts for martial law and dictatorship, such as that there is not only a "state of rebellion" and "subversion" but even "an actual state of war" throughout the country, including the Greater Manila area. This is supposed to be due to a "criminal conspiracy" of such diverse groups of men as the Communist Party of the Philippines; the Liberal Party; certain sections of the Nacionalista Party; the publishers, editors and other journalists; members of the constitutional convention; Manila TV-radio broadcasters; leaders and members of mass organizations of workers, peasants, students, teachers and professionals, women and others; the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao; and even such unwholesome groups as crime syndicates, petty warlords and the Lava revisionist renegades. Then, the proclamation orders the reactionary armed forces to put the entire country under martial law and detain indefinitely at the whim of the commander-in-chief all those deemed opposed to his fascist puppet regime.

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The promulgation of Proclamation No. 1001 immediately violates Article VI, Section 26 of the reactionary constitution which clearly states that "in times of war or other national emergency, the Congress may by law authorize the President, for a limited period and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy". This constitutional provision points out the authority of Congress and the necessity of having a declared national policy emanating from it. Marcos did not bother to consult Congress as the national policy-making body of the reactionary government before signing his fascist proclamation. He even went further by issuing General Order No. 1 and Presidential Decree No. 1 which put Congress to naught.

General Order No. 1 proclaims that the entire nation and the entire government, including all its agencies and instrumentalities, are under the absolute authority of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Under this order, both the legislative department and the judicial department, coequals and coordinates of the executive department under the constitution, are arbitrarily rendered inutile and even nonexistent. This order also carries with it the implication that the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces can at whim disregard and violate anyone's right to public office by virtue of election or civil service rules. In effect, the fascist dictatorship has torn to pieces the very same constitution which it pretends to defend and draw authority from.

The promulgation of Presidential Decree No. 1 clearly shows that Marcos has arrogated unto himself the prerogatives and functions of Congress or the legislative department. Under this decree, the "Integrated Reorganization Plan" is simply declared "part of the law of the land" despite the fact that this is a pending congressional bill. The fascist dictator has even seen it fit to berate Congress for not having had enough sense to pass this bill before. By way of confirming the dissolution or absorption by him of Congress, he invited a number of congressmen on September 25 only to tell them to become "models in their communities" and to threaten them veiledly with "dispossession of their property by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. To stress the point that he has assumed fascist dictatorial powers, he has ordered the detention of several members of Congress in military camps or placed them under house arrest or under threat of detention and other punitive measures.

General Order No. 3 clearly puts all actions of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship above the civilian courts, including the Supreme Court. It takes away from these the prerogative of trying seven categories of cases of vital importance, such as those involving: 1) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any decree, order or acts issued, promulgated or performed by the dictator himself or his duly designated representative; 2) the validity, legality or constitutionality of any rules, orders or acts issued, promulgated or performed by public servants pursuant to decrees, orders, rules and regulations issued and promulgated "by me" or "by my duly designated representative" pursuant to Proclamation No. 1001; 3) crimes against national security and the laws of nations; 4) crimes against the fundamental laws of the state; 5) crimes against public order; 6) usurpation of authority, rank, title, and improper use of names, uniforms, and insignia; and 7) crimes committed by public officers.

The above-mentioned cases are put within the exclusive jurisdiction of military commissions or military courts created by the chief of staff of the reactionary armed forces under the direction of the dictatorship. In other words, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and its fascist minions can commit every crime with absolute impunity. Marcos himself has scorned the petition of detainees for the writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court as an exercise in futility since he claims now to be the sole authority on judicial matters as commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces. He has also declared that he will remove and replace public officials in any government department, including the judiciary; in fact he has already demanded the resignation of all judges of the lower civilian courts and special courts like the Court of Industrial Relations and the Court of Agrarian Relations. The scope of authority given to the military courts is so comprehensive that all civilian courts, including the Supreme Court, are left with no more cases to try, except a few kinds of a marginal nature.

General Order No. 3 orders that the present officers and employees of all executive departments, bureaus, offices, agencies and instrumentalities of the national government, government-owned or controlled corporations, as well as all governments of all the provinces, cities and municipalities and barrios can remain in office only at the pleasure of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and can no longer consider as sufficient basis for tenure previous elections or civil service eligibility.

Provincial governors and town and city mayors are now so much threatened that some of those who were previously critical of the U.S.-Marcos clique, especially those from the Liberal Party, have started to sing paeans for Marcos as if the criminal character of this scoundrel can be appeased by capitulation. Presidential Decree No. 1 emphasizes the threat of dismissal against appointive officials and employees even without due process and due cause. The real intention of the "Integrated Reorganization Plan" is to effect mass dismissal of civilian employees so that their salaries could be used for the purposes of the fascist military although the avowed intention of the dictatorship is to reduce the costs of government by "weeding out" those whom it categorizes as "corrupt, inefficient, ignorant and useless".

By acting on the sole basis that he is the commander-in-chief of the reactionary armed forces and by implementing his line of "unlimited martial law" above and beyond the entire constitution, Marcos has supplanted "civilian authority" with "military authority", notwithstanding his previous declaration on September 23 that there was "no military takeover", and has calculated to perpetuate his dictatorship, notwithstanding his oft-repeated claim that he wants the "national emergency" to end "as soon as possible".

In his address to his military lapdogs on September 26, the dictator himself declared: "... by and large, the military in the Philippines have demonstrated their capacity to govern, rule and exact obedience ... This is the first new principle or manifestation in the New Society which we would like to create: that there is a breed of men capable not only of ruling others but of governing themselves ... we must thank you and the men under you, noncommissioned officers and enlisted men, all the way down to the lowest level, have shown and demonstrated that this principle in which we believe, that is, that the military can be given all the power ..."

For all intents and purposes, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is hell-bent on employing an armed minority of men (at the moment only about 55,000 including noncombatant personnel) to ride roughshod over the people. This is absolutely necessary as the dictatorship intends to perpetuate itself for "two years or more" (as revealed by top C.I.A. agent Alejandro Melchor in a press interview in the United States, after making a special report on the Philippine situation to his U.S. imperialist masters). This is far beyond the one year and three months that is left of the constitutional tenure of Marcos.

The Suppression of the Basic Democratic Rights of the People

In line with the vile scheme of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to perpetuate itself in power, General Order No. 2, General Order No. 4 and General Order No. 5 are all aimed at directly intimidating and actually curtailing and suppressing the basic democratic rights of the broad masses of the people. Of course, these are closely related to General Order No. 3 which, elaborating on Proclamation No. 1081, subjects the people to final judgement by their fascist persecutors.

General Order No. 2 reiterates the order for mass arrests and mass detention immediately embodied in Proclamation No. 1081. It orders the fascist troops to arrest and detain for as long as it pleases the dictatorship "such persons as may have committed crimes and offenses in furtherance or on the occasion of or incident to or in connection with the crimes of insurrection or rebellion, as well as persons who have committed crimes against national security and the law of nations, crimes against public order, crimes involving usurpation of authority, title, improper use of name, uniform and insignia, including persons guilty of crimes as public officers, as well as those persons who may have violated any decree or order promulgated by me personally or promulgated upon my direction".

Under this order, anyone can be blacklisted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, blackmailed or actually put through sham trial in the military courts and punished arbitrarily. In the first wave of nationwide mass arrests, conducted from 9:00 p.m. of September 22 to 6:00 a.m. of September 23, several thousands of leading personalities in various legal endeavors and common people were apprehended and thrown into military camps and many of these were brutally tortured or even murdered. So far, only a little over a hundred detainees in the Manila-Rizal region have been reported through the Marcos-controlled government radio stations and the Marcos-owned Kanlaon Broadcasting System (KBS) and Daily Express.

General Order No. 4 orders the maintenance of a daily curfew throughout the Philippines from 12:00 midnight to 4:00 in the morning. This has immediately resulted in the disruption of the livelihood of a great number of people, including workers on the night shift, fishermen, market vendors, transport workers and businessmen, restaurant employees, street pedlars and so many others. To disregard this order infringing on the free movement of the people is to suffer brutal treatment and indefinite detention in a military camp and subsequently in a prison camp. Exemptions to this order can be taken only from a military commander-in-charge in the given area. That military

officer acts as the overlord in the area. Within or outside curfew time, it is now the fascist troops roving the streets who commit all sorts of crimes, frequently extortion, robbery, haulings, drunken behavior and rape. Anyone who complains can easily get accused of slandering the dictator Marcos and the fascist military.

General Order No. 5 orders the suppression of the basic democratic rights of free assembly and free expression. This is directed against the workers, peasants, youth and all other sections of the population, including political parties, trade unions and other mass organizations. It prohibits under pain of fascist punishment all rallies and demonstrations and other forms of mass actions, including strikes and picketing by workers and others, in vital industries such as in companies engaged in the manufacture or processing as well as in the distribution of fuel, gas, gasoline and fuel or lubricating oil, in companies engaged in the production or processing of essential commodities or products for export, and in companies engaged in banking of any kind, as well as in hospitals and in schools and colleges.

It is clear by this order that while he acts as a dictator towards the broad masses of the people, Marcos is a despicable puppet of the big bourgeoisie, especially the U.S. imperialists. He is specially interested in suppressing protest mass actions against the U.S. oil monopolies and their arbitrary price hiking. At any rate, he is violently opposed to all forms of democratic assembly and expression. He has gone as far as to issue a special order to the armed forces, particularly his secret agents, to eavesdrop on ordinary conversations in order to catch people for "rumormongering".

Letter of Instruction No. 1 also involves the suppression of the democratic right of free expression. It orders the Press Secretary, now called the Secretary of the Department of Public Information (D.P.I.) after Presidential Decree No. 1, to take over all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and all other media of communications, wherever they are. The closure of the major Manila newspapers and radio and TV stations has disrupted the livelihood of printing workers, journalists, staff employees, radio-TV talents, newsboys, newspaper dealers and so many others. Pursuant to Letter of Instruction No. 1, the D.P.I. secretary has started to issue his own department orders. Department Order No. 1 orders, among others, that all materials for publication in the newspapers or broadcast on radio and television shall have to carry the approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall have to fall in with the fascist dictatorship and strictly avoid expressing the true national and democratic interests of the Filipino people. Department Order No. 2 orders that no printer may print any newspaper, periodical, news sheet, pamphlet, leaflet or any publication for mass dissemination of any kind without approval of the Department of Public Information and that these shall also have to conform with Department Order No. 1. Because of the bureaucratic run-around involved in getting approval for printing orders, the livelihood not only of the press owners but also of the printing workers are adversely affected.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship wants to monopolize all channels of information with the vain hope of controlling the minds of the people with its lies. Its fascist totali-

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tarianism leaves no room for such other channels of information as those owned by the Necesses, Lopezes, Locsins and the like though these have never gone beyond legal criticism of the obvious excesses of the U.S.-Marcos clique and have as a matter of fact given utmost space to Malacanang press releases. In the meantime, it is only those channels of information that are owned by the fascist government (like Radio Philippines Network, Philippine Broadcasting System and the like); those that are owned directly or indirectly by fascist dictator Marcos (like Kanlaon Broadcasting System, Daily Express, Livayvay, Bannavag, Hiligaynon, Bisaya and the like); and those owned by foreign imperialist entities, especially American, (Philippines Herald, Radio Mindanao Network, Interisland Broadcasting System and the like) that are allowed to operate.

This new development is what Marcos calls fighting "subversion" with "sophistication". This is what we call the crudeness of fascism, the complete unmasking of the ugly face of a fascist dictatorship. Unwittingly, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has only convinced the broad masses of the people of the necessity and urgency of putting out and distributing underground publications and resorting to other forms of mass communications (including secret meetings in urban areas and mass meetings in the rural areas). It must also be pointed out that it is impossible for the fascist authorities to guard all medium and small printing presses in the country, not to mention some small presses securely kept in the underground.

Gone berserk in its attempt to suppress every kind of opposition to its unjust rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has as one of its initial acts suspended classes at all levels. Though the initial suspension of classes is only for one week, this has been extended indefinitely at the high school, college and graduate levels. School teachers in primary and elementary schools are now under threat of being dismissed if they disobey strict orders to wage a hysterical campaign of anti-communist indoctrination and propaganda for the fascist dictatorship. Progressive teachers and students, including officers of student governments, are being apprehended or threatened with detention. Such fascist tactics have only served to increase the number of men and women who are very articulate in denouncing the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The indefinite closure of all private high schools and colleges have angered all the teachers whose livelihood has been unduly disrupted and the students' parents who are acutely concerned about the time and living expenses of their children going to waste.

General Order No. 6 and General Order No. 7 are both intended to consolidate control by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of firearms and ammunitions in the hands of the reactionary armed forces and police forces and also those in the hands of security agencies and warlords. The first order prohibits the carrying of firearms by private persons and orders the arrest of all persons doing so unless they are authorized by the dictatorship. Marcos himself has declared in his "background" speech that carrying of firearms outside the residence, even if covered by license but without permission of the reactionary armed forces, is punishable by death. The second order requires that all high-powered firearms in the hands of private security agencies, public or private corporations (including gun stores) and private individuals, and those under the

temporary custody of the Bureau of Customs, Bureau of Posts and clerks of courts (apart from those in pending court cases) be turned over immediately to the firearms and explosives units of the Philippine Constabulary.

To camouflage its real intention of controlling arms for its fascist purposes, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has raved mad about "peace and order" and has even pretended to arrest and confiscate token numbers of arms from notorious warlords who are close to it, like Ablan, Bocalan, Crisologo and the like. But the warlords and crime gangs are actually not surrendering their arms. Only some police forces, private corporations and individuals opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship are being forced to turn over their registered arms to the Philippine Constabulary. As a result, these entities are being rendered helpless before the fascist gangsters, warlords and ordinary armed criminals.

Letter of Instruction No. 2 orders the Secretary of National Defense to "take over" the management, control and operation of the Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company (P.L.D.T.), the National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority (NAWASA), the Philippine National Railways (P.N.R.), the Philippine Air Lines (PAL), Air Manila, Filipinas Orient Airways, and other public utilities. Once more, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship deliberately refuses even only to mention the U.S. oil companies and other U.S.-owned public utility firms in the Philippines.

The "takeover" of public utilities is neither to achieve nationalization nor to crush an armed opposition in the premises. The NAWASA and P.N.R. are government corporations long under trusted military appointees of Marcos. The P.L.D.T. and Air Manila are private corporations controlled and owned by Marcos himself through dummies. The PAL and Filipinas Orient Airways continue to be private corporations under the ownership and control of Marcos' big-bourgeois confreres. The real target for spite of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is MERALCO and the Lopezes who are owners of controlling stocks. The military-takeover management here really makes it a point to boss around, go over the company accounts and meddle in operations. Though Marcos himself is a noncontrolling co-owner of this public utility firm, he wants to once more tighten the screw against the Lopezes when he wants to support his dictatorship completely, especially with the use of the Lopez-owned Manila Chronicle and ABS-CBN radio-television network.

Letter of Instruction No. 3 orders the Secretary of National Defense to take over the possession, control and operation of all privately owned aircraft and watercraft of Philippine registry and also to control the movement of nonmilitary foreign-owned and foreign-registered aircraft and watercraft of whatever make. The avowed intention of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in this regard is to prevent the escape of his reactionary rivals for power either by sea or by air in their private yachts or private planes. Letters of Instruction Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Secretary of Justice, the Secretary of Finance and the Governor of the Central Bank, respectively, are also openly intended to prevent the "escape from the country" of the enemies of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. But, of course, the instructions, from Instruction No. 3 to Instruction No. 7, are all meant to curtail the free flow of information regarding the despicableness

by which the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has come about. Only after assuring itself of complete control of the mass media and also the detention of a sweeping range of critics has the dictatorship allowed, under guard of troops, spies and censors, the transmission of messages via international and domestic carriers and communications firms.

In a vain attempt to deceive the peasant masses, the big landlord and landgrabber Marcos has announced that he has issued Presidential Decree No. 2 proclaiming the whole country as a "land reform area". This is plain drivel of a demagogue. Since the law to be applied is basically the old Agricultural Land Reform Code, which is reactionary by both origin and amendments, nothing will come out of the decree except that it will serve to worsen the plight of the peasant masses as has been proven in previous "land reform areas". The code is essentially nothing more than a set of instructions for the landlord class to exploit the peasantry further. In making his decree, Marcos even fails to conceal his malice as he sternly warns the tenant peasants to "respect" and be "fair and just" to the landlords. The dictatorship is hell-bent on preventing the peasant masses from forming their own associations and is busier than ever in criminally assaulting and rounding up those who have their own militant associations. The reactionary armed forces are now frenziedly attacking the peasant masses and accusing them of being guerrilla fighters of the New People's Army. Thus, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has become isolated not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside where the flames of people's war are rapidly spreading.

The "show window of democracy in Asia" which was much touted by U.S. imperialism and its puppets in the past has proven to be mere soap bubble. It is now completely gone. Because of its boundless greed of power and wealth, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has forced on everyone in the Philippines the choice between armed revolution and armed counterrevolution. The people's revolutionary struggle for national freedom and democracy has become ever more vigorous and fiercer. In this regard, it is worth taking up C.I.A. Melchor's description of his criminal accomplice Marcos, as one who has put his head on the block. This description is very apt. The Filipino people are going to literally chop off Marcos' head in due time, unless his U.S. imperialist masters will first do so in the manner that they did to the abominable Ngo Dinh Diem. At any rate, the Filipino people will continue to maintain their armed strength and fight on even as some other dog would be groomed as one more puppet dictator by U.S. imperialism. In the face of the present fascist tyranny, the broad masses of the Filipino people know how to fight for their freedom.

The Fabrication of the "State of National Emergency"

An actual state of martial law has long existed in many parts of the country, especially in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Mindanao, even before the formal declaration of martial law covering the entire country. The fascist minions of the U.S.-Marcos clique under the black banners of military task forces have long operated as the supreme wielders of political authority, abusing and blackmailing the people; robbing and extorting from them; rounding them up and incarcerating them indefinitely on false charges; barging into houses and

even burning them; committing kidnappings, murder and massacres; and raping the womenfolk with impunity.

These are the concrete manifestations, especially in the countryside, of the trend of militarization and fascism so well condemned by the people throughout the land. These are the bitter results of the more than fivefold increase of the official military budget from 1966 to 1972; the system of conspiracy between the commander-in-chief and his favorites in the reactionary armed forces; the rapid increase in troops and equipment; the fielding of so many "task forces" and "paramilitary units" (BSDUs and "Honkees"); the vicious employment of the Anti-Subversion Law; the intensification of fascist training in "home defense" centers; the militarist intrusion into civilian offices and functions either under the signboard of "civic action" or "accommodation of retirees from the military service"; the secret but widescale issuance of military rank to civilian officials; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the unrelenting "psy-war" campaigns for the acceptance of martial law; the adoption of "contingency plans"; committing crimes of bloody intrigue for the purpose of pitting one group against another; and so many others.

The real situation in certain parts of the country is now being turned into a nationwide situation through the formal declaration of martial law. The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on committing all kinds of fascist crimes against the broad masses of the people in order to suppress their clamor for national freedom and democracy, province by province and island by island. The fascist dictatorship has the illusion that it can freely do so as long as it has the absolute power over the entire reactionary government and monopoly of the legal channels of communications such as those centered in the Manila-Rizal region and other urban areas. Thus, aside from trying to hunt down the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, it has to terrorize the democratic mass organizations, the mass media, the Liberal Party, sections of the Nacionalista Party, sections of the constitutional convention and all patriotic and democratic personages. This is to serve notice to all who can disseminate information and opinions widely to keep silent about fascist crimes that are aimed at protecting the interests of U.S. imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the U.S.-Marcos clique has had to resort to a number of tricks resting mainly on the myth of "urban terrorism". A series of a few bombings is made in the urban areas, blamed on communists and all other democratic forces, turned into an argument for "contingency plans" and, presto, there is a "state of national emergency" which is used as a pretext for doing away with all channels of mass communications except those of the commander-in-chief and his dictatorship.

The dry run for the big trick that is the current "state of national emergency" was the Plaza Miranda massacre on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of habeas corpus until January of this year. In the massacre caused by two grenades, nine were killed and more than a hundred people were seriously wounded including almost all the top leaders of the Liberal Party. Within two hours after the incident, the U.S.-Marcos clique was already on radio blaming the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations for the dastardly crime. Then, less than three hours after the

massacre, the U.S.-Marcos clique issued only to the reactionary armed forces and without public knowledge until August 23, the presidential proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and ordering the mass arrest of prominent democratic personages and activists of democratic mass organizations. Immediately after the massacre, there also followed a series of nine petty bombings which had no other motive but to buttress the false public claims of the U.S.-Marcos clique and which could have been committed in certain well-guarded places, like the Manila City Hall and the residence of Rep. Cojuangco, only by a conspiracy in which Marcos himself was involved.

What gave away the bloody hands of the U.S.-Marcos clique with regard to the Plaza Miranda massacre was that Marcos and his lieutenant Enrile readily blamed so many people, including a college president and a prominent radio commentator, and entire mass organizations for a crime which was essentially a conspiracy and, therefore, could have involved only a handful of persons in both planning and execution. The broad masses of the people and the survivors of the massacre themselves pointed the finger of blame on the U.S.-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the U.S.-Marcos clique became more ludicrous and incredible when the leaders of the Liberal Party were finally accused of trying to kill themselves in order to get public sympathy and win the 1971 elections. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was "lifted" only after the U.S.-Marcos clique appeared satisfied with something, like the Supreme Court decision acquitting the presidential privilege to suspend the writ, giving credence to a piece of fabrication like the "July-August Plan" and above all noting the existence of a state of rebellion and likewise of a declaration of war from the Communist Party of the Philippines. Then, in a complete turnabout from its previous propaganda of anti-communist lies, the U.S.-Marcos clique charged in court for the Plaza Miranda massacre not some communists but some living-out prisoners of the national penitentiary, which is run by a trusted agent of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the U.S.-Marcos clique did not end with the Plaza Miranda massacre, however. The clique merely took a breather for a few months from its November 1971 electoral defeat. Soon came another series of petty bombings in the Manila-Rizal region, a total of 16 minor detonations (from March 15 to September 18, 1972) most of which caused only some petty damage on some government and privately owned buildings and three of which were the most serious, causing one death and injuries to more than twenty people. In addition, there were "discoveries" of bombs at Congress and the Department of Foreign Affairs on July 18 and August 30, respectively; and two patently fake casualtyless ambushes, one supposedly on a Metrocon car on August 19 and another on Defense Secretary Enrile himself on September 22. Most of the bombings and other incidents were made during the months of August and September 1972 immediately prior to Proclamation No. 1081.

It was during the months of August and September, when thirteen of the abovesaid incidents were made, that the U.S.-Marcos clique took the posture of raving mad about "urban terrorism" and "urban guerrilla warfare". Within seconds after every incident, Marcos and his fascist minions would rail against the Communist Party, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations and threaten

to adopt some "contingency plans". Everyday the front pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the U.S.-Marcos clique. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines issued through Ang Bayan two statements refuting the false accusations of the fascist clique; some quotations from these statements found their way into Manila newspapers. As during the white terror that followed the Plaza Miranda massacre, the Party reaffirmed its adherence to the theory of people's war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and strongly condemned terrorist acts where the most likely victims are the people and likewise the stupid "psy-war" campaign unleashed by the enemy to cause a mammoth-sized hysteria from a few petty incidents.

A few of the bombings before June 1972 had been claimed by the Lava revisionist renegades in their anti-communist publications as their own doing. And in three bombings, where there were casualties, evidence clearly pointed to the U.S.-Marcos clique as the mastermind and culprit. A P.C. sergeant belonging to the P.C. firearms and explosives unit was actually caught by the Manila Metropolitan Police and confessed to being on a "special mission" in connection with the most serious bombing, that at Joe's Department Store on September 5. Two A.F.P. plainclothesmen taking a ride in a jeep marked "for official use only" were seen by eyewitnesses in connection with the bombing at the Manila City Hall on September 8. Three P.C. men in uniform were also seen in the process of bomb emplacement and getaway in a P.C. truck by three delegates of the constitutional convention in connection with the bombing at the Quezon City Hall on September 18.

Despite all evidences and clues gathered, the U.S.-Marcos clique did not only continue to insist on its false anti-communist charges but also maneuvered to suppress evidence pointing to its own criminal responsibility. For instance, it took the aforesaid P.C. sergeant of the P.C. firearms and explosives unit into custody so as to spare him from thoroughgoing investigation by the Manila Metropolitan Police. The maneuvers of the clique were so crudely evident that eventually the leaders of the Liberal Party and journalists of the Manila newspapers stood up to raise questions of doubt and also to denounce certain actions of the powers that be. Then came the public exposure of "Operation Sagittarius" which unmasked the plans of the U.S.-Marcos clique to declare martial law under the guise of taking "contingency plans" to follow up the terrorist incidents made by the clique itself. This operational plan was leaked out to a member of the Senate by a top-ranking military officer. It was at this point, covering a period of about two weeks prior to Proclamation No. 1081, that the U.S.-Marcos clique intensified its efforts to terrorize all its critics by telling them outright that they could be kidnapped or assassinated under the pretext that the kidnappers and assassins were the New People's Army.

As if it could deceive the people by a mere repetition of lies, Proclamation No. 1081 continues to treat the incidents, which were mostly bombings in urban areas, as the key factor in declaring a "state of national emergency". On the other hand, this proclamation has completely unmasked the U.S.-Marcos clique as a totally fascist criminal gang and a bunch of incorrigible liars. How many times did these scoundrels deny scheming to impose martial law?

There is not only martial law now but also a full-blown fascist dictatorship to boot. The flimsy basis for what is now called a "state of national emergency" or "an actual state of war" is a series of twenty relatively minor incidents which, as now confirmed by the very promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081, has all along been the calculated doing of the U.S.-Marcos clique to fabricate grounds for a fascist dictatorship all over the country.

The basis for the "state of national emergency" becomes even more flimsy and ludicrous when a textual examination is made of the "Regional Program of Action 1972", previously referred to variably as the "Tarinsing Papers", the "July-August Plan" or "September-October Plan" by the U.S.-Marcos clique. It is incorporated in Proclamation No. 1081; now it can be publicly checked and scrutinized. This "regional program of action" is completely a piece of deception, a fabrication pure and simple. It is supposed to be a regional program of action and yet its scope is national and the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines is spuriously tacked on it. It was supposed to have been captured by Task Force "Saranay" in Barrio Tarinsing, Gordon, Isabela on June 18, 1972 and it lists down a number of specific bombing targets for September and October 1972 in the Manila-Rizal region. Despite the supposed advantage of being forewarned by several months, the reactionary armed forces did not thwart the bombing of the listed targets or capture any bomber. Then, consider how the "regional plan" is conceived, put into outline and written according to outline. It is completely childish. To write an instruction like "Create regional chaos and disorder ..." is utterly counterrevolutionary and outside of revolutionary thinking and style. This is Marcosian gibberish, a sloppy attempt at forgery.

Before Proclamation No. 1081, there could not have been any "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region. On the very day that Marcos was supposed to have signed this proclamation in utmost secrecy, people's marches from several assembly points in the Manila-Rizal region and a massive rally of several tens of thousands of people at Plaza Miranda were peacefully conducted under the auspices of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and with the participation of more than sixty democratic mass organizations. The gigantic popular demonstration denounced the wanton suppression of civil liberties and the making of incidents by the U.S.-Marcos clique to pave the way for the imposition of martial rule. In the entire stretch of the day, the factories, offices, schools and business shops were in normal operation. Congress, the courts, various government offices, the constitutional convention, the restaurants, coffeeshops and nightclubs were also in normal operation. The "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region was nothing more than the fantasy of the madman Marcos, otherwise notoriously known as the mad bomber.

The wide-ranging "whereases" of Proclamation No. 1081 contradict each other and serve merely to show how much of a fumbling liar the dictator Marcos is. He makes one claim that the strength of the New People's Army has rapidly increased, but also makes the opposite claim that it has suffered a disastrously increasing number of casualties and, therefore, an increasing loss of arms, from year to year. Besides, he deflates the number of military actions launched against and the number of casualties inflicted on the reactionary armed forces by the New People's Army in the

countryside. He makes one claim that the number of regular Red fighters has increased from 560 as of January 1, 1972 to 1,028 regular fighters as of July 31, 1972, but he also makes the opposite claim that the New People's Army got 3,500 M-14 rifles from the Maragatan during the month of July. Possession of 3,500 M-14 rifles should mean a great deal more of regular troop increase for the people's army. He makes one claim that some 3,000 high school and college students have dropped out to join the fighting units of the New People's Army, but makes the opposite claim that the same people's army has only 1,028 regular fighters and 1,500 combat support. The truth is that at least ninety per cent of the regular mobile and guerrilla units of the people's army are peasants; this makes Marcos' claim regarding school dropouts an outright lie even as his own figures fail to tally with each other. Finally, it may be asked, why is it that Marcos is terrified by what he claims is a little over 1,000 Red fighters while at the same time he never fails to brag about the overbearing strength of his military personnel of 65,000? Has he not always been prating that he is "on top of the situation"?

Although in its very first "whereas" it makes the attempt to show that only the Communist Party is the "conspiracy" out to overthrow the present reactionary state, Proclamation No. 1081, together with its corresponding general orders and letters of instruction, ends up accusing a wide range of people of being in one and the same "conspiracy" that is supposed to be responsible for a "reign of terror" and "wanton acts of destruction on life and property" in both the rural and urban areas. The dictator Marcos arbitrarily changes the meaning of terms. Obviously, he has already extended his dictatorial power into the realm of the lexicon. Normally, conspiracy is defined as the act of a handful of persons secretly plotting to commit a crime according to a single plan. In the novel meaning now given by the dictator to the term, it is supposed to be the open and mass activity of the most diverse organizations and individuals acting "consciously" and "unconsciously" to oppose such a real conspiracy as that one which has brought about the present fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship actually insists that the Communist Party of the Philippines is in "conspiracy" with the Lava revisionist renegades and crime syndicates. This is a vicious slander on the Party. But the fascist dictatorship unwittingly exposes its hopeless isolation by linking in word and deed the Communist Party of the Philippines with the democratic mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth and others), the mass media, the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista Party, certain members of the constitutional convention, the poor settlers, the national minorities and the Mindanao Independence Movement. It is utterly silly, however, for the fascist dictatorship to accuse the Communist Party, together with these, of crimes against the people. If that were the case, there would be no more need for the "extraordinary measures" of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, for it would be us who would be isolated and not this despicable dictatorship.

Proclamation No. 1081 takes great stock in citing a decision of the Supreme Court (on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus last year) stating that there has been a state of rebellion since several decades ago and that the programme of the Communist Party of the Philippines amounts to a declaration of war. On the basis of this citation, the U.S.-Marcos clique claims to have the right to declare martial law under any condition and any time it pleases.

It further argues that it has already resorted to the use of military task forces and subsequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus but that it has failed each time to suppress the armed revolutionary movement which has always succeeded in becoming even stronger despite these measures. So, it concludes that it has to declare martial law. It further concludes that it is entirely up to the president in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make anything out of martial law since the term "martial law" is supposedly not qualified in Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution. Thus, the commander-in-chief has finally decided to install himself as a fascist dictator under the cover of an "unlimited form of martial law".

The term "martial law" appears in the context of a constitutional provision, which refers to certain other factors and elements and which even refers to degrees and alternatives. It is not true that the term is absolutely not qualified and that it can be interpreted by the president in any way he wants. The term "place under martial law" implies merely execution or implementation of a national policy determined and declared by Congress. The provision carrying the term appears in the context of the entire constitution which also carries Article VI, Section 26. In times of war or other national emergency, it is Congress that is vested with the authority to decide the national policy and that authorizes by law the president, for a limited period of time and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

Notwithstanding the existence of a state of rebellion, the formal declaration of martial law was never resorted to in the Philippines or any part thereof in the time prior to the present by Marcos' predecessors and Marcos himself. Yet the reasons given now by Marcos for the formal declaration of martial law have not only been in fact too blatantly contrived but have also been extremely questionable even among the reactionaries. The broad masses of the people easily see through the legal pretenses of the dictator Marcos. These are extremely flimsy embellishments on the few terrorist incidents plotted to bring about a "state of national emergency", the fabrication on which rests the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

"New Society" Means Nothing But the Worsening of the Old Society

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is not satisfied with pretending "to save the republic" in attacking the national and democratic rights of the sovereign people. It wants to remain in power for as long as it can through sheer armed force by pretending "to form a new society". The "new society" means the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship. It means nothing but the worsening of the old society. The old basic evils that are U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism shall continue to afflict semi-colonial and semi-feudal Philippines and shall aggravate the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and likewise the suffering of the broad masses of the people through the unmitigated puppetry, bankruptcy, brutality, corruption and mendacity of the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship.

As confirmed by the statement of the U.S. State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1051, the instalment of the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, U.S. imperialism is confidently behind the Marcos puppet dictatorship at the moment. The direct conspirators in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship have been the U.S. "country team" (which includes the U.S. ambassador, the C.I.A. chief of station, the A.I.D. director, the U.S.I.A. director and the

JUSMAG chief) and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines on the master side and the "internal security council" composed of Marcos, Melchor, Enrile, Generals Espino and Ramos of the general staff of the reactionary armed forces and a few others on the puppet side.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs for the last seven decades. It is the result of the rapid process of militarization and fascistization directed by U.S. imperialism during the Marcos puppet regime to preserve and enlarge its political and economic interests in the country. By trying to draw more superprofits and make up for the losses that they have incurred elsewhere in the world, the U.S. imperialist masters of the Marcos puppet gang have only exacerbated the suffering of the broad masses of the people and have thereby engendered popular resistance and a strong revolutionary mass movement. So powerful has the anti-imperialist and anti-puppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the instalment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. U.S. imperialism has always had the illusion that such fascist dictatorships as those of the Thieu regime in south Vietnam, Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, Suharto regime in Indonesia, Chiang regime in Taiwan and Park regime in south Korea are more reliable and stable tools of imperialist rule.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship falls in with the "Nixon doctrine" that the Philippines must be kept no matter at what cost as a stronghold of counterrevolution in the determined bid of U.S. imperialism to remain a "Pacific power". From such an imperialist viewpoint, the most despicable measures must be taken in order to keep this archipelago in the Pacific a vassal state. A fascist gang like that of Marcos would just be too willing to implement these measures in exchange for an indefinite tenure of power in order to pile up more loot for itself. The fascist dictatorship is basically a desperate effort of U.S. imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion worth of U.S. investments (in anticipation of the end of "parity rights") and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people's outcry for the confiscation of U.S.-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of U.S. military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, U.S. imperialism has lately suffered so many big reverses that it has decided to resort to extraordinary measures with the use of the Marcos fascist gang. Just before Proclamation No. 1051, it was very clear that the bombing incidents and the corresponding "psy-war" campaign were being staged by the U.S.-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds for demanding the immediate end of imperialist domination. It dawned upon the U.S. imperialists that even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle they were being hopelessly isolated. They had to hurry making use of the Marcos fascist gang which prated about "fairness" and "justice" for them against the popular demands for national emancipation.

The puppetry of the Marcos fascist gang is well proven. This gang has adopted and implemented to the letter every "recommendation" made by U.S. imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the U.S. "country team" and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, U.S. monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of U.S. imperialism have always become the basic policies and projects of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Some of the most notorious

policies and projects are the "floating rate" or the unabated rapid devaluation of the peso in relation to the U.S. dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal U.S.-R.P. treaties to achieve more "adjustments"; "national treatment", "joint ventures" and "incentives"—special privileges for U.S. investments (non-expropriation, investment insurance, unlimited profit and dollar remittances, tax exemptions, drying up local credit sources, etc.); increasing local public debts and heavy foreign borrowings from the U.S. and "consortium" banks for non-productive projects; increasing taxes to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military build-up; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year programme for a "self-reliant defense posture"; special privileges for U.S. oil firms in oil exploration and in price-hiking; the "car manufacturing" scheme; free trade zones; and the reorganization plan of the Presidential Committee for the Survey of Philippine Education (P.C.S.P.E.) for the educational system.

Enjoying absolute powers vis-a-vis the Filipino people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door wider open for U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers, especially Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism. The substance of old unequal treaties with the United States will stay either through retention, minor revision or drafting of new ones. The Philippines will continue to suffer violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and will remain a victim of superprofit remittances by the imperialist firms and banks. Because a civil war of a national scale is now on hand and the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of U.S. aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the "Nixon doctrine" about supplying war material rather than U.S. manpower, the colonial domination of the Philippines will become more direct and conspicuous in the years to come unless other drastically different conditions arise.

Because it has seized absolute power without so much pretenses about having the support of a broad range of political groups, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is exceptionally isolated at the moment and has to rely completely on its fascist troops. This extreme reliance on a parasitic and nonproductive military is bound to deepen the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. The present number of military personnel and equipment is not enough to maintain the fascist dictatorship for very long. Only 32,000 to 34,500 men or only about half of the present total of military personnel are combat effectives. Therefore, it is expected that it will increase military expenditures in order to increase the number of military personnel and equipment. The official 1972-73 military budget of \$1.2 billion has already been superseded. Even at the present troop level, military expenditures have already increased tremendously since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has started to bribe the military personnel, from the rank of private first class upwards, with salary increases and allowances. The fascist dictatorship will certainly create more inflation through huge military expenditures. It will also have to increase taxes and its foreign debts by leaps and bounds.

To satisfy its greed and bloodthirstiness, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will become even more rabid in suppressing the democratic rights of the people. The workers will not only be prevented from launching strikes and maintaining their unions to raise their depressed real incomes and to assure themselves of job security but they will also have to suffer the unjust accusation that they are the cause of spiraling prices. The peasant masses will continue to be subjected to the most brutal military operations ostensibly against the armed revolutionaries and will be forced to accept the dictates of the big landlord class of which fascist puppet chieftain Marcos is the outstanding representative. The

students and their parents will be commanded to accept the rising cost of education and cost of living; student movements will continue to be the target of hysterical anti-communist propaganda, as in the case of trade unions and peasant associations. Teachers and other professionals will have to pay more taxes and will have to suffer more indignities in the hands of the military overlords who dictate on them what opinion to take on issues. Higher government taxes and special extortions from the military will bedevil all businessmen that are not in the good graces of the dictatorship. These are only some of the concrete evils that will plague the country as a result of Proclamation No. 1081.

With absolute power in the hands of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and its military minions, unbridled corruption and brutality will go hand in hand to exacerbate the people's suffering. The dictator Marcos himself has long set the example of enriching himself in office more than any other puppet president and of exculpating his agents from the most heinous crimes, including massacres of workers, peasants, students, national minorities and even religious groups. With the suppression of democratic rights, every person and every group is now under blackmail by the fascist dictatorship and its agents. The dictatorship has not only seized every major legal channel of communication and suppressed democratic organizations but it has even outlawed the ordinary conversations of people regarding the present situation and has branded these as "rumormongering".

At present, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and his military minions can simply accuse anyone of being a "subversive", "conspirator" or "rumormonger" and extort anything from him at gunpoint. Through sheer coercion, the dictator Marcos will be able to acquire more stockholdings and landholdings. At every level of the reactionary government, his fascist minions will continue to do their own grabbing with more impunity. In the streets, the fascist troops will exact tribute more than in the past to the great annoyance of the local police whose most crooked members exact much less. In the campaign to seek out those who oppose the dictatorship, the most brutal measures will be taken such as those which have long made the U.S.-Marcos clique notorious. Kidnapping, torture, murder, arson and massacre have long been the political style of the Marcos fascist puppet gang. These can be committed by the fascist troops with more impunity, in both cities and countryside under Proclamation No. 1081.

The propaganda of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship keeps on harping about the sudden "peace and order" and "elimination of crime" as a result of Proclamation No. 1081. The truth is that fascist dictatorship is the biggest crime and cause of disorder. In the present "new society", people are massacred or arrested and detained indefinitely on false charges and manufactured evidence. There is no more safety in one's own home. Anytime, the fascist troops can barge in anywhere to dispose of persons and property in any manner they wish for their criminal ends. These minions of the dictatorship, together with their criminal associates (gangsters, informers, BSDUs and "Honkoes") arrogantly engage in extortion, robbery, torture, rape and other vicious crimes. And these do not get into the police blotter, simply because the victims do not want to become the accused before their abusers. By official record, there appears to be "peace and order" and "elimination of crime". But crime and disorder, products of an exploitative society, do not cease to exist just because the fascist-controlled mass media do not wish to report them.

Despite all attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to suppress the truth, the facts of fascist abuse are so widespread and so blatant. The fascist dictatorship will become even more hopelessly isolated by the stench of its lies. The broad masses of the people will only be further angered by mendacious propaganda prettifying the fascist dictatorship as having eliminated crime, lowered the prices of basic

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commodities, busted graft and corruption and rid the country of filth and pollution, whereas the contrary is the truth.

Deceptions even among a few people do not last long. The "new society" of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is nothing but a phrase that will go the way of all previous slogans of deception spewed out by the U.S.-Marcos clique. So long as the basic sources of evil in Philippine society are not eliminated, the manifestations of evil will always crop up. Marcos is nothing but the general representative of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. What makes him even more distinctively so is that he has chosen to become a fascist dictator, a vicious running dog of U.S. imperialism, under conditions when the political and economic crisis of the ruling system is getting more and more acute every day. In the "new society", the basic sources of evil that are U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will persist but will increasingly be under powerful assaults by the broad masses of the people. With a target as easy to hit as the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the Filipino people will rapidly become even more aware of their revolutionary strength, use it to destroy their enemies one by one and aim for a new Philippines that is genuinely and completely independent, democratic, united, just and prosperous.

Tasks of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the New Situation

The setting up of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship through the declaration of an "unlimited form of martial law" and under the fascist principle that "all power can be given to the military" has brought about a new situation. Through the crude employment of armed coercion, dictator Marcos as commander-in-chief has arrogated unto himself and concentrated in his hands all executive, legislative and judicial powers. All of these powers are used not only against the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army but also against the broad masses of the people and all opposition to the perpetuation of a fascist dictatorship. Upon the setting up of this fascist dictatorship, the objective conditions for a civil war of a national scale have arisen. The entire Filipino people vehemently condemn the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as anti-national, anti-republican, anti-democratic and decadent and are more determined than ever before to struggle for national democracy and, therefore, for a genuine republic that belongs to them.

It has long been pointed out and stressed to the U.S.-Marcos clique that people's war is the answer to martial law. Now that martial law is here, large masses of revolutionary militants and allied leaders of various forces all over the country have gone underground or have gone to the countryside from cities and towns and are resolutely taking every possible and necessary step to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Many times more than the previous suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, the setting up of the fascist dictatorship has resulted in an increase of men and women eager and ready to do their share of fighting in the battlefield. With every national and democratic right suppressed, the broad masses of the people have more deeply realized the need to support or participate in people's war. The revolutionary stand of the Communist Party of the Philippines that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle at the present national democratic stage of the Philippine revolution has never before been clearer than now.

In the new situation, there are three things that stand out. First, the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle that calls for the armed overthrow of the fascist government. Second, the Party has the strongest and most experienced revolutionary army, the New People's Army. Third, the ranks of the revolutionary movement have greatly expanded and fighting

cadres as well as allies are all over the archipelago determined to conduct people's war. These things would not have stood out as clearly as now were it not for the fascist viciousness of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is the party most prepared to lead the revolutionary struggle because it is the most prepared to do so ideologically, politically and organizationally. By virtue of its adherence to and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, it can be relied upon to fight steadfastly in a protracted people's war and to deal with the problems of the Philippine revolution in the most comprehensive and correct manner. By virtue of its revolutionary politics, it can be relied upon to serve the toiling masses of workers and peasants, respect the legitimate interests of the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie and mobilize the biggest mass force to overthrow the tyrannical regime. By virtue of its organizational strength, it has emerged practically unscathed from the vicious blows so far made by the enemy under Proclamation No. 1081.

In so many years, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have been the target of all kinds of enemy operations and task forces and yet they have not only managed to preserve themselves and destroy the enemy part by part but have become even stronger through revolutionary struggle. To ensure the growth and development of people's war as a mass undertaking, the Party has indefatigably created Party branches and groups, organs of political power, mass organizations, people's organizing committees and various forms of fighting units such as the militia, the local guerrillas and the regular mobile (or several guerrilla units concentrated at appropriate times for big operations or a campaign of several battles). In the countryside, the Party is at the core of the New People's Army and is also in the localities and has gained wide support from the peasant masses and inhabitants of towns, provincial capitals and small cities. In the cities, the Party has carefully developed an underground for the worst of emergencies and has at the same time developed unbreakable links with the workers, the urban petty bourgeois and others.

While we consider the present situation far more favorable to the revolutionary movement than ever before, we should not relax in the false belief that the objective conditions are enough to carry us forward. We have to build up the revolutionary forces courageously, not only by waging the principal form of struggle which is armed struggle in the countryside but also by employing effective underground methods in the cities and towns and by using every possible means, legal and otherwise, to facilitate coordination of efforts, propaganda work, intelligence and internal communications as well as communications with allies throughout the archipelago. We should avoid rashness in our actions because the fascist dictatorship carries with it the license to do the worst possible harm against the Party, people's army and the people. We should advance carefully and steadily.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to join hands with all those who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. All those who are interested in achieving national freedom and democracy are welcome in joining with the Party in a broad national democratic front. Those who may participate in this united front are the democratic classes and strata, parties, groups and individuals. Independence and initiative are enjoyed by participants in this united front. But the single common objective of all is to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and institute a truly national and democratic regime. The success of the national democratic front can pave the way for a national coalition government where the working class, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie are fairly and justly

represented. The Party's Programme for a People's Democratic Revolution and also the ten-point guide drafted by the Party in connection with the drawing up of the programme of the National Democratic Front should be referred to as guide for forming a national alliance or local alliances of revolutionary forces.

In addition, we are hereby making a pledge to ourselves, to all our allies and to all our countrymen in the context of our programme for a people's democratic revolution:

1. To join up with all forces that are opposed to the fascist dictatorship of the U.S.-Marcos clique and conduct a firm revolutionary struggle to overthrow it;

2. To strengthen the New People's Army, boldly organize guerrilla units all over the archipelago and draw all possible cooperation from everyone opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship;

3. To help re-establish the democratic rights of all anti-fascist forces, including individuals, political parties, trade unions, mass organizations, mass media, religious organizations and all other people, and to take all steps towards a democratic coalition government;

4. To fight for the nullification of all acts of the fascist dictatorship that favor U.S. imperialism and the Marcos fascist clique, and to make possible the abrogation of all unequal treaties and agreements with the United States, especially those pertaining to direct investments; military bases, military assistance, military aggression and cultural aggression;

5. To pave the way for the arrest, trial before a people's court and punishment of the dictator Marcos and his richard accomplices for the setting up of a fascist dictatorship, bloody crimes against the people and enrichment in office, and make possible the confiscation of all ill-gotten wealth (capital holdings and landholdings) of the Marcos fascist clique and likewise those of all U.S. imperialist firms and agencies collaborating with it; and

6. To welcome to the revolutionary ranks those officers and men of the reactionary armed forces who turn at any time against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, provided they are not a mere faction of the military directed by U.S. imperialism to groom another puppet dictator.

Hereunder are a number of guidelines for developing or dealing with the various forces opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship:

1. The Party should vigorously fulfill its 1972 organizational and educational plan. Despite what appears to be the tightening of the situation due to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the fact is that the entire country has been made far more fertile than before for revolutionary seeding and growth. There is a great need for cadres and their nationwide deployment. So, the Central Committee is seeing to it that cadres are dispatched from certain regions to other regions. The correct relationship between expansion and consolidation and between the number of cadres in urban areas and that in the rural areas must be settled from time to time by regional party committees in their respective territories. They must take more initiative in building the Party, the New People's Army and the united front. Stress must be laid on mass work. The gauge of achievement is the quantity and quality of Party branches and groups, fighting units of the New People's Army, organs of political power, people's organizing committees and mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women and cultural activists. Due to the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, special attention must be paid to improving underground methods, especially in cities and towns, and in maintaining links over extensive areas.

2. The Party should assign more cadres of worker as well as petty-bourgeois background to the New People's Army. Those who can no longer conduct legal work or underground work in cities and towns should be dispatched to the people's army through the various regional Party committees. The people's army is the Party's principal form of organization and should be built as such. Party branches should be established at the company level or platoon level as the case may be and Party groups at the squad level and, in addition, Party branches should be established in localities. The main objective of the fascist dictatorship in the countryside today is the suppression of the Party, the New People's Army and the revolutionary masses. We should be good at preserving ourselves by destroying the enemy (fascist troops, spies, local tyrants and bad elements) on the wider scale of the countryside. The New People's Army is based mainly on the peasant masses, the majority class in Philippine society. Special attention should therefore be paid to realizing a genuine land reform program among them. Nothing will ever come out of the decree of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship proclaiming the implementation of the reactionary "land reform code" all over the country, except intensified feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression and, therefore, intensified resistance by the peasant masses. Whenever possible, land should be distributed free to the tillers who do not own land or who do not have enough. The nonpayment of land rent and other related measures can easily be effected when the peasant masses have been sufficiently aroused, organized and mobilized on a wide scale. This is also the best way of creating stable base areas. Wherever the guerrilla units of the New People's Army are, the least that should be done for the welfare of the peasant masses is to reduce land rent, eliminate usury and initiate mutual aid and exchange of labor. Peasant associations, with poor and lower middle peasants prevailing, should be established. Local militia units and guerrilla units should also be raised from the peasant ranks so as to defend their democratic gains. From the ranks of the guerrilla units, we draw the Red fighters for the regular mobile forces of the New People's Army.

3. The Party should continue to build revolutionary trade unions and other suitable organizations (including open associations and secret workers' organizing committees) among the workers in workplaces and communities, despite the fascist ban on mass organizations and strikes. However, care must always be taken to prevent the enemy from identifying Party cadres and members. The more the fascist dictatorship madly goes after all kinds of workers' organizations, the more it will aggravate its already isolated position. The longer the workers' rights are suppressed, the more will the workers become fearless of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Their wages are buying less and less. They are also under greater threat of unemployment. The fascist dictatorship is not enough to prevent the workers indefinitely from demanding through their unions and through strikes better working and living conditions. The violent suppression of workers' unions and strikes can only yield more determined fighters for the revolutionary cause, provided the Party does well its duty of arousing and mobilizing the workers. The Party should organize the workers in factories, mines, haciendas and other areas and raise their political consciousness in the light of the current political and economic crisis. Workers are quick in grasping the Marxist-Leninist ideology, provided this is properly communicated to them by Party cadres. The Party should accelerate its efforts to build Party branches in the workers' places of work and communities. Trade union work should always be combined with ideological and political work.

4. The Party should vigorously arouse and mobilize the student masses against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Although the democratic cultural revolution has already brought out a high degree of militance among them, the student masses could

be further guided by the Party in the new situation so that they can link up with the broad masses of the people and deliver the most effective blows against the fascist dictatorship. If it were not for the fear of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship of the student masses, the schools should have been opened on the Monday following Proclamation No. 1081. But the closure of schools for sometime cannot stop the student masses from recognizing what is wrong and acting against it. The longer the schools are closed, the more ready are the student masses for mass actions. First, the probing mass actions and other propaganda activities; then increasingly bigger mass actions. Various forms of open student organizations and underground coordinating committees can be set up to defy the fascist ban on basic democratic rights. In the case of quite a number of student leaders and other youth leaders, who are blacklisted and who will only be immobilized upon arrest, it is the Party's policy to dispatch them to the countryside or the underground, so long as they are already Party members or are willing to become Red fighters even if they are not yet Party members or even candidate members. Party groups which are in the midst of the student masses should systematically deploy groups of students to various provinces and towns to condemn the fascist dictatorship and arouse the people.

5. The Party should encourage not only the student masses but also all other sections of the intelligentsia to assert their national and democratic rights and speak out their views against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is anti-national to allow foreign-owned mass media like those owned by the Sorianos to make propaganda in support of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and at the same time prevent the Filipino people from speaking out their minds. It is anti-democratic to have only those reports and views supporting a fascist dictatorship disseminated. Teachers at all levels should be persuaded to propagate the national and democratic line among their co-teachers, students and the people and not to make anti-communist propaganda which would only serve to prolong the life of fascist dictatorship in the country. Special efforts should be exerted to get the active support of public school teachers. All government civilian employees should resist attempts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to shift public funds to the military from their departments, disregard their civil service eligibilities or turn over their functions to military personnel. Like the teachers and ordinary government civilian employees, all professionals (doctors, nurses, engineers, journalists, lawyers and others) should be won over to the anti-fascist united front. If positive and progressive, their political influence on many other people is of great value to the revolution. Their direct services and material contribution to the revolution are much needed. The most progressive elements in the ranks of the intelligentsia can become Party members.

6. The Party should, aside from the intelligentsia, win over other sections of the petty bourgeoisie. In many various ways, they can extend practical support to the revolutionary cause. They can help spread the correct political line against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they can also extend material support to the revolutionary movement. They are hard-pressed by the political and economic crisis worsening under the fascist dictatorship. The Party should consider the entire petty bourgeoisie as a basic motive force in the national democratic revolution and win it over in order to tilt the balance securely in favor of the revolutionary side.

7. The Party should win over members of the national bourgeoisie, in the cities and in the countryside, to give political and material support to the revolutionary movement. Since they themselves cannot be expected to bear arms against the enemy, they can extend to the revolutionary movement

support in cash or kind or allow use of their facilities. The Party should protect their legitimate interests against the wanton assaults of U.S. imperialism and the puppet dictatorship. The national bourgeoisie can join the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front and it will be amply represented in the national coalition government to be set up in the future.

8. The Party should support the struggle for self-determination or autonomy and also for democracy among the national minorities, especially those of Mindanao who have taken up arms. The armed struggle of the Maguindanaos, Maranaos, Tirureys, Tausugs and others is very significant. Efforts should be exerted in developing revolutionary forces in various parts of Mindanao, especially those outside of the "Muslim" areas; and unity between the national minorities and the poor settlers everywhere should be aimed for in accordance with the general line of national democratic revolution. The armed struggle in Mindanao can be so coordinated with the revolutionary armed struggle in Luzon and the Visayas that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship would become exhausted from running to and fro, from far south to far north of the archipelago and vice versa. It should be the general policy of the Party all over the country to welcome all national minorities into the ranks of the revolutionary movement and to develop Party cadres and Red fighters among them.

9. The Party should seek and develop an anti-fascist united front at every possible level with the Liberal Party, with certain sections of the Nacionalista Party and various political groups and figures who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The attempt of the Marcos fascist puppet clique to monopolize power in the country has seriously harmed or put a serious threat to the interests of other reactionaries. The violent split developing among the reactionaries has been obvious since the emergence of the "private armies" and especially since the second Plaza Miranda massacre. Although the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will try to create the myth of "bipartisan" support for the "Marcos party", the political and economic contradictions among the reactionaries cannot be erased. There are various ways of cooperating with other political groups and figures. Since the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on disarming them at any cost, they might as well contribute or merely lend their arms to the New People's Army. They can also advise their following to cooperate with the people's army and they can give other kinds of material support. In return, such legitimate interests of theirs as those which do not harm the people can be protected. In cases where there are already armed groups fighting or determined to fight the fascist dictatorship, the New People's Army should be willing to reorganize them or integrate them into its ranks or simply coordinate with them as the case may be.

10. The Party should seek and develop an anti-imperialist and anti-fascist united front with religious groups and semi-religious groups that are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. It is noteworthy that there are a considerable number of patriotic and progressive priests and ministers who have merited being in the fascist blacklist. It must be always borne in mind that there are religious people who do not agree with the Party's ideology but who would agree with the Party's political programme and line.

11. The Party should draw all possible support from Filipinos abroad, especially the half-million Filipino immigrant workers, professionals and students in the United States. Together with their American and other foreign friends, they can form committees and associations, engage in mass actions and raise funds for their own propaganda activities all in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Eventually, they will

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be able to channel their material support to the revolutionary forces in the Philippines. Revolutionary friends of the Filipino people all over the world should also be encouraged to initiate committees and associations in support of the Filipino revolutionary struggle. The Filipino people should get all possible international support in the same spirit and manner as other peoples have done for their own revolutionary struggles. The peoples of the world are profoundly interested in the victory of the Philippine revolution against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs. The Party should be guided by the lofty principle of proletarian internationalism in this regard.

12. The Party should perseveringly conduct by various means revolutionary propaganda among the officers and troops of the reactionary armed forces. Quite a number of them are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. As a matter of fact, there are three definite trends in the reactionary armed forces: the first one consists of those who support the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who are gloating at the chance to abuse the people; the second one consists of those who oppose the Marcos fascist gang but who wish to have it replaced by coup d'etat with another reactionary regime which they consider "democratic"; and the third one consists of those who oppose the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and who agree with the principles of the Corpus-Tagamolila Movement. The second trend can be subdivided into two: one is biding its time for the near-collapse of the Marcos fascist clique and will move only with assurances from U.S. imperialism; the other has various notions of anti-imperialism. Enemy officers and troops who are opposed to the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship should be encouraged to take the people's side and take the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist line. They can bring over their arms and join the New People's Army or temporarily establish and lead guerrilla units until such time that they can establish relations with the people's

army. The Party should also see to it that the policy of leniency is taken on captive enemy officers and men in order to disintegrate the reactionary armed forces. As the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship conscripts more troops and the people's suffering becomes even more unbearable, there will be more enemy officers and men who will recognize what is right and what is wrong and will gladly turn their arms against the people's exploiters and oppressors.

The Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the New People's Army which it leads, declares that conditions for revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside have been tremendously enhanced by the emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Whereas before Proclamation No. 1081 only certain limited parts of the country were battlefields, these can now be boldly expanded throughout the archipelago. Furthermore, whereas before this proclamation it was not yet timely to launch certain limited forms of military operations in urban areas, these can now be done with due consideration given to the strategic line that the revolutionary forces will seize the cities from rural base areas.

The broad masses of the people know how to deal with a mad bull like the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and they are determined to encircle it with the flames of people's war. The day will surely come when the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is turned to ashes and is finally consigned to the garbage heap of history. By that time, the comprehensive revolutionary movement against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall have become a gigantic force, capable of carrying the Philippine revolution through to the end.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

October 1, 1972

ANG Bayan

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNURAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



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MARCOS LAND REFORM -- A BIG HOAX

The land reform touted by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship as the "cornerstone" of or chief pretext for its unjust and indefinite rule is a big hoax. The fascist dictatorship is in fact violently opposed to the fulfillment of the peasant demand for land, which is the main content of the people's democratic revolution.

Under Proclamation No. 1081, the peasant masses are prohibited from having their own militant associations and from asserting their democratic rights. Under conditions of martial rule, the reactionary armed forces have the license to commit all kinds of barbarities against the peasant masses. In areas where the peasant masses have valiantly stood up to oppose landlord oppression and exploitation, the fascist troops are concentrated by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in order to suppress them and protect the landlord class.

The political and economic crisis, spawned by U.S. imperialism and domestic feudalism, has been aggravated by the greed and barbarism of the fascist dictatorship. The suffering of the peasant masses has been exacerbated by the rampaging fascist troops who inflict direct physical harm and disrupt their livelihood. Massacres, mass arrests, mass evacuation, zoning, looting, kidnapping, assassination, abuse of women, blackmail and extortion at checkpoints are being perpetrated with impunity mainly against the peasant masses, who even before martial rule could not seek redress for their grievances.

As the resistance of the peasant masses rises, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship shifts public funds to the reactionary armed forces in order to increase their numbers, equipment and antipopular operations. As a result, the reactionary government no longer has as much funds as before disposable for "land reform" and can no longer pretend as much as before to be for "land reform" by purchasing a few excessively overpriced estates from the landlord class and offering these for resale to tenants at prohibitive prices.

Presidential Decree No. 2 dated September 25, 1972 and Presidential Decree No. 27 dated October 21, 1972, two documents which the dictator Marcos boasts of as his masterpieces on "land reform", are consistent with the antidemocratic and counter-revolutionary character of Proclamation No. 1081. They are also consistent with the most obnoxious anti-peasant and pro-landlord provisions of the old Agricultural Land Reform Code (Rep. Act 3844) as well as of its latest modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms (embodying Rep. Act 6389).

The two presidential decrees do not get out of the old rut of all previous reactionary legislation on "land reform" which runs thus: if a tenant wants to get emancipated, he must pay for the landlord's land at "fair market value" or at the government's overprice; or he can start calling himself a "leaseholder" and pay to the landlord a fixed yearly rent equivalent to twenty-five per cent of the average yearly crop of three normal crop years, provided he shoulders all agricultural expenses and takes all risks, including those due to natural calamities and crop epidemics.

The land retention limit of seven hectares set on the landlords by Presidential Decree No. 27 is as pretended and false as any of the land retention limits set by previous legislation because in fact the tenant masses are required to buy out the landlords at "fair market value" or pay for the high redistribution price set by the reactionary government. In the first place, this government which promises to expropriate landed estates for redistribution and resale to the tenant masses is a political instrument of the landlords and has extremely limited cash and bonds for buying lands at the "fair market value" it has set as its own limit and burden in making expropriation.

It is utterly stupid of the dictator Marcos to boast that his presidential decrees are historically outstanding as they are original. It is redundant of Presidential Decree No. 2 to "proclaim the whole country as a land reform area". The Code of Agrarian Reforms did so in 1971 by declaring share tenancy throughout the country as contrary to public policy and by calling for its automatic conversion to agricultural leasehold.

And has Marcos easily forgotten that some years ago he heard the same pious generalities in Presidential Decree No. 27, about "the emancipation of the tenant from the bondage of the soil" and "transferring to them the ownership of the land they till and providing the instruments and mechanism therefor", from another demagogue? In 1963, Marcos as Senate president was at the side of Macapagal when the latter signed into law the Agricultural Land Reform Code and proclaimed the "emancipation" of the tenant masses and "abolition of tenancy".

The demagoguery of the dictator Marcos is definitely stale. But what is now most striking is the fact that his Presidential Decree No. 27 has artificially increased land prices and has further put the tenant masses in a position of ridicule under reactionary laws. This decree dictates a higher cost for acquiring land and in effect twits the tenant masses with the fact that they cannot afford to buy land from the landlords. Also, the dictator Marcos by his speech of October 21, 1972 has pronounced the policy that any transfer of land between landlord and tenant shall be strictly a transaction between the two and that the reactionary government shall be out of it. In other words, the reactionary government shall avoid engaging in the buy-and-sell of a few landed estates between landlord and tenant. It is to be expected that it would rather shift funds to the fascist military.

Presidential Decree No. 27 orders that the value of land shall be equivalent to two and one-half (2 1/2) times the average harvest of three normal crop years immediately preceding the promulgation of the decree. In addition, the decree orders that the total cost of the land, including interest at the rate of six per centum per annum, shall be paid by the tenant in fifteen (15) years of fifteen (15) equal annual amortizations. The entire formula set by the fascist dictator for the acquisition of lands from the landlords is simply ridiculous.

Let us translate what appears to be small numbers in the presidential decree into their real dimensions. Assume that the tenanted land is three hectares, irrigated and two-cropped and that the average yield is fifty (50) cavans of palay per hectare per crop. The total annual yield of the entire tenanted land is, therefore, three hundred (300) cavans of palay. Assume that the agreed price of a cavan of palay is twenty-five pesos (P25), which is the current floor price set by the National Grains Authority. The figure that comes out is P7,500; it is the money equivalent of the average annual crop. Multiply this by two and one-half (2 1/2). The figure that comes out next is P18,750. This is supposed to be the cost of the three-hectare land, if only the tenant could pay in cash immediately.

At the unqualified interest rate of six per centum per annum, the total interest charges on ₱18,750 in fifteen years can range from ₱9,000 to ₱16,875. The final total cost of the entire land would therefore range from ₱27,750 to ₱35,625. Divide these figures by fifteen (15) in order to arrive at the fifteen (15) equal annual amortizations. The figures range from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375.

The per-hectare value of the land, without interest charges, is ₱6,250. This is far higher than the ₱4,149 per-hectare value of land (including a few urban estates) bought by the Land Bank from 1966 to 1971 under the Agricultural Land Reform Code. It may be argued that land prices have gone up since then. But it may be riposted that the value of ₱4,149 per hectare even includes a few higher-valued urban estates and, of course, the overpricing that ordinarily goes into transactions between the reactionary government and the landlords. The best thing to do in order to see how exorbitant a price is ₱6,250 is to go around and observe comparable lands and their current prices. If interest charges ranging from ₱3,000 to ₱5,625 per hectare are added to the principal cost of the land, then the total cost per hectare ranges from ₱9,250 to ₱11,875. In most areas, the land that we speak of can be bought at a price below ₱4,000 per hectare. Presidential Decree No. 27, therefore, gives more than ever a better deal to the landlords and a worse deal to anyone who is baited into believing the bogus land reform of the fascist dictatorship.

Going back to the question of equal annual amortizations, let us now ask if a tenant on a three-hectare, irrigated and two-cropped land can really save and put up an amount ranging from ₱1,850 to ₱2,375 every year and for fifteen years! The answer can be gotten from the masses themselves. Under conditions of increasing inflation under the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, the tenant family has to pay more for basic commodities (other than grain and vegetables in the backyard) for its subsistence. It has to pay more for fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation fees, hauling, and other agricultural costs requiring cash outlays. Then, there are other agricultural costs in the main involving grain outlays, as in seeding, planting, weeding, harvesting, threshing and milling. If the tenant has no work animals or implements, he has to rent them from the landlords or the rich peasants. At the end of every year, there is not much grain or cash left for any tenant family to even hope that he can buy out the landlord.

Under conditions of want and hard toil, every tenant family is usually beset within fifteen years by a number of major illnesses, involving heavy medical expenditures or even temporary disability or death of the principal tiller. Within the same long period, calamities like floods, drought, crop infestation and the like is likely to occur. All these can disrupt the timetable of amortizations. If for one year he is in default of payments, the prospective owner-cultivator will never be able to recover financially and will have to suffer complete loss of the land he has hoped to own.

The risks involved in the attempt to buy land from the landlord are exceedingly great for a tenant. Obviously, it is for this reason that Presidential Decree No. 27 requires him to join a "cooperative" first before being allowed to get into the act of trying to buy the land on which he is a tenant. This "cooperative", an underling of the landlords' rural banks or the landlord-dominated government, is supposed to guarantee amortizations to the landlord and at the same time stands guard to take over the land lest the land buyer goes in default. Ultimately, the tenant goes back to being a tenant after his futile effort to conform to the bogus land reform or, in other words, the laws of the landlord. The land that he has hoped to own also reverts to the landlord class through a bogus cooperative or the reactionary government.

Not a single poor share-tenant has been or can ever be emancipated by Presidential Decree No. 2 and Presidential Decree No. 27. Yet, as if a few glittering phrases would suffice to obscure the truth, the propaganda machinery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been endlessly claiming that the presidential decrees have already emancipated 715,000 tenants on 1.5 million hectares and distributed to each of them either 3 hectares of irrigated land or 5 hectares of unirrigated land. Anyone with the simplest knowledge of arithmetic will immediately see the Marcos propaganda as a cheap lie. Out of 1.5 million hectares, there can only be 2.1 hectares for every one of 715,000 tenants. Furthermore, the number of tenants in the Philippines is not as small as 715,000 and also the extent of landlords' holdings devoted to rice and corn is not as small as 1.5 million hectares.

One more myth spewed out by the propaganda machinery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is that land reform is being conducted by the reactionary government in Cagayan Valley. The truth is that the reactionary armed forces are trying by all-out brute force to suppress the revolutionary peasant masses and protect the landlord class. The big landlord Marcos himself is rabidly trying to keep his landed estate of more than 22,000 hectares in the face of the surging revolutionary movement. This landed estate extending from Cordon, Isabela to Diffun, Nueva Vizcaya is the biggest of its kind north of Manila and is the most conspicuous landmark of feudalism in Cagayan Valley. It is also the most scandalous example of land grabbed from poor tenants and settlers.

The Tabacalera Estate of 11,000 hectares has long been offered for sale to the reactionary government by its foreign owners who are terribly afraid of the genuine land reform program of the revolutionary movement. They want to sell the land at an overprice and at the same time contract the reactionary government to deliver tobacco and other agricultural products to them. They want the reactionary government to secure the land from the revolutionary peasant masses and not really to make the land the object of any land reform. Should the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship finally buy the land, it would be at an overprice and the landless tillers would not be able to afford the redistribution price.

With regard to the problems of land reform, there is nothing new to expect from the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship except the worsening of the plight of the peasant masses. The Department of Agrarian Reforms created by the Code of Agrarian Reforms has been assigned by the fascist dictator to work out the details of his "land reform" decrees. This department will go the way of its predecessors, such as the National Land Reform Council, the Land Authority and the like. It will be nothing more than a bureaucratic set-up for protecting the landlord class and demanding payments for land expropriated at an overprice from a few landlords. The emancipation of the tenant masses and the abolition of the "system of sharecrop and lease-tenancy" have become more gigantic impossibilities under the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship by virtue of Proclamation No. 27 setting the price of land even above "fair market value". What does it profit a poor peasant anyway even if the Land Bank exhausts its funds in buying only a few landed estates. He will still have to pay the heavy price of redistribution.

From 1965 to 1971, the long period during which the Agricultural Land Reform Code was in effect until it was relabelled Code of Agrarian Reforms, the reactionary government "appropriated" ₱1.3 billion and actually released a total of ₱399.24 million to the various "land reform" agencies. Out of the large amount actually released, only the measly amount of ₱36.32 million was released specifically to the Land Bank, which in turn spent only ₱16,002,900 to purchase 32 landed estates having the total size of only 3,876 hectares. The total size of the expropriated estates is equivalent to a measly portion of one Marcos hacienda. Now, we ask whether a single poor peasant, lower middle peasant or farm worker ever succeeded during the last seven years in becoming a full owner of a family-size plot from any of these expropriated estates. Not a single one. Most of the 2,268 tenants of these estates have gone in default of their amortizations as in all cases of expropriation and redistribution before 1965. It is only the rich peasants and upper middle peasants who can keep up with the schedule of amortizations because in the first place they have some amount of surplus lands or have more than enough work animals as well as better farm implements.

There is nothing in the past and there is also nothing in the present to show or indicate that the reactionary government, especially as it is now under a fascist dictatorship, can implement a genuine land reform program. It is important to expose and condemn the past record of the U.S.-Marcos regime on the land problem and likewise the present hoax about land reform being drummed up by the Marcos propaganda machinery. And, it is even more important to demonstrate by word and deed that the agrarian revolution being carried out by the peasant masses and the New People's Army under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is the true solution to the problem of feudalism and semifeudalism. All revolutionaries should propagate and implement the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform under the banner of the people's democratic revolution.

Our land reform program has a minimum goal and a maximum goal. The minimum goal is to reduce land rent to at least ten per cent of the net crop, eliminate usury completely and develop multipurpose cooperation among the poor peasants, lower middle peasants and farm workers. The maximum goal is to confiscate the lands of the landlords and distribute them free to the poor peasants, lower-middle peasants, farm workers and all other impoverished people who are willing to till the soil but who have no land. The achievement of these goals are interconnected with the comprehensive achievement of the people's democratic revolution.

As they come to fully grasp our land reform programme on a national scale, the millions of oppressed and exploited peasants will stir up a great storm to sweep away the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. They will bring about their own total emancipation. At the same time, they will consistently provide the strongest and biggest possible mass support for the people's democratic revolution.

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ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



News Release

(English Edition)

November 15, 1972

REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

The revolutionary propaganda movement against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship continues to gain momentum despite severe fascist restrictions. It has served to frustrate the illusion of the fascist dictatorship that it could stem the tide of popular resistance to its oppressive and exploitative rule through the imposition of martial law throughout the country.

With the illegalization of progressive mass organizations and the forcible closure of all mass media critical of his policies and acts, the fascist dictator Marcos has raised to fever pitch his campaign of counterrevolutionary propaganda through the mass media which he personally owns as well as those that the government or his close associates own. This has necessitated the employment of various forms of revolutionary propaganda to further unmask the criminal character of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and the adoption of various ways to reach the greatest possible number of people.

Immediately after the imposition of martial rule, revolutionary mass organizations forced to go underground issued their own statements through their respective official publications condemning the fascist act and calling on the people to unite and fight the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Within a short period, and specially after the statement of the Communist Party of the Philippines on October 1, many other revolutionary publications have been effectively circulated.

Revolutionary publications that have emerged include Liberation, Taliba ng Bayan, Bangon (illustrated), Ulos, Bagong Muog ng Maynila, The Report, The Rebel Pandayan, Ang Taong Bayan, Kasarinlan, Citizen, Ka-ingat Kayo and Tinig ng Masa. Many progressive groups have also begun to put out their own publications which unanimously condemn the wanton trampling of the democratic rights of the people. These do not include such publications as Bandilang Pula, Kalayaan and Bantayog which had been in existence long before the imposition of martial rule and still continue to come out regularly.

In the Manila-Rizal region, underground organizations at various levels under the guidance of Party cadres continue to publish news about the criminal abuses of the reactionary armed forces. Revolutionary propagandists in the region have forged close links with the masses and are in the best position to recount and popularize the various forms of the people's resistance to fascist dictatorship.

In the other regions in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the regional Party organizations have their own publications to rally and inspire the people in their areas. English and Pilipino editions as well as editions in various dialects are put out to reach as many sectors, groups and people as possible. Leading groups of national

mass organizations have also enjoined their regional chapters to put out their own publications.

The resumption of classes throughout the country has reopened the schools as an important fighting front for revolutionary propagandists. Rebel publications run by secret student revolutionary committees have become the main written medium to express the militance of the revolutionary student youth. Generally speaking, these revolutionary underground publications are characterized by a fresh straightforward and lively style, are replete with concrete and typical events, and correctly sum up the developments. Efforts are being exerted to insure accurate and timely dissemination of information.

The revolutionary mass organizations have continued to issue from the underground timely manifestoes, leaflets, pamphlets, handbills and illustrated works which focus on specific issues. They give critical analysis of the various counterrevolutionary acts of the U.S.-Marcos regime and point out the necessity of united efforts to resist them.

The banning of legal and open propaganda against the fascist dictatorship, far from effectively restricting the initiative of the revolutionary propagandists, has only given full play to their creativeness. In communities, factories and schools, they have employed such methods as writing "chain letters" condemning the fascist dictatorship, sticking paper tapes with revolutionary slogans, scribbling of protests on walls and other public places, carefully planned house-to-house distribution of leaflets, typewritten and handwritten reproduction of propaganda materials, and launching "operation paskel" and "operation pinta" wherever and whenever circumstances permit.

Even religious groups have manifested their opposition to the imposition of martial rule. Priests and ministers have delivered sermons critical of martial law and, together with their congregations, have written petitions and issued manifestoes in defense of those who have been unjustly persecuted by the fascist dictatorship.

Revolutionary propagandists have also utilized street crowds, public celebrations, religious meetings, processions, sports events, family gatherings and other social gatherings to distribute propaganda materials. Written propaganda materials were circulated and "operation paskel and pinta" was launched successfully in the course of the La Naval procession of October 8 and All Saints' Day on November 1.

To supplement written materials, revolutionary propagandists have also devised and encouraged other forms of propaganda. Secret discussion groups have been organized in communities, factories and schools not only to facilitate the transmission of news but also to adopt correct methods of action.

Organized mass actions of defiance have also been tried successfully. In some schools, for example, militant students have employed the collective wearing of black ribbons signifying the death of democracy and the singing of protest songs. In others, the synchronized shouting of slogans, tapping of classroom desks and walls and of spoons, forks and trays in canteens at certain periods of the day have also been employed. Such acts of mass defiance have struck terror in the hearts of the fascists on school campuses.

Different cultural groups have also succeeded in giving performances in the communities with the strong support of the local people. Ingeniously adapted to the new conditions, these performances are held in alleyways, warehouses and other places out of enemy sight. What is most significant about these is that, as in the ten-minute lightning rallies held in wide open places, the people themselves offer to stand guard and warn the crowd of the arrival of the fascist brutes. To further boost the revolutionary propaganda movement, cultural cadres have led in composing protest songs and poems which serve to inspire revolutionary optimism among the people and reproducing in ever increasing numbers cartoons and other art works depicting the people's resistance to fascist brutality.

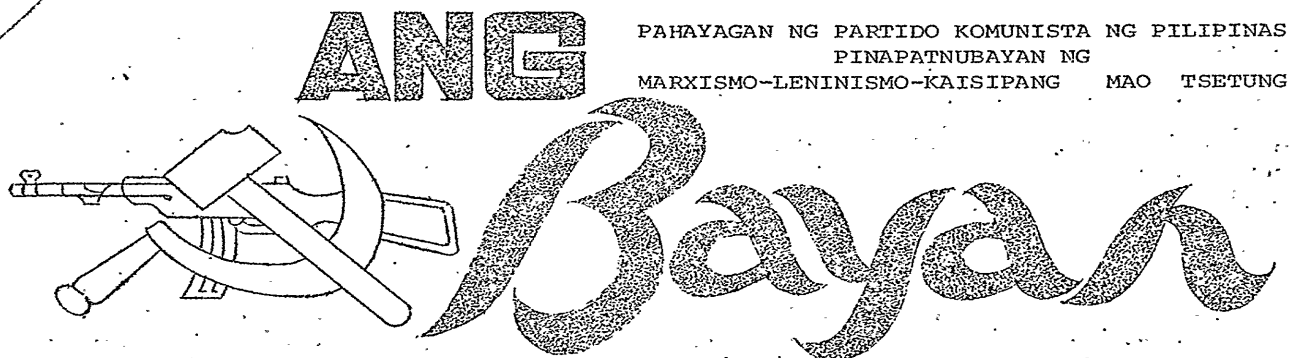
One great achievement of revolutionary propaganda under the present condition is that it has once more proven the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the most prepared, the most organized and the most consistent revolutionary force

capable of delivering mortal blows at the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Through the unremitting efforts of Party cadres who are now systematically assigned to propaganda work in the different regions of the country, the programme for a people's democratic revolution as well as other policy statements of the Party are more than ever gaining nationwide acceptance among the various oppressed and exploited classes and sectors.

At present, cadres and activists in the propaganda front should exert more efforts to raise the level of propaganda work in terms of quality and quantity. Not only must they pay attention to the content of our propaganda materials but they should also surpass in quantity those that were put out before the imposition of martial law.

There is no limit to what the revolutionary masses can do so long as they are mobilized and organized. Relying on their own efforts and on the creativity and resourcefulness of the masses, our revolutionary propagandists can certainly surmount difficulties and bring the national-democratic cultural revolution to a new high. Our success in this endeavor will help bring about the groundswell of popular protest and resistance that will wreck the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

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Special Release

(English Edition)

December 5, 1972

THE "NEW CONSTITUTION" IS A LICENSE
OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP
TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

Taking full advantage of its martial rule, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been able by armed force, bribery and deceit to ram through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention a "new constitution" which endorses Proclamation No. 1081, allows the fascist dictator Marcos to remain in power for as long as he can beyond 1973 and perpetuates the vile interests of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Attention needs to be focused on Article XVII entitled "Transitory Provisions" and on Article XIV entitled "The National Economy and the Patrimony of the Nation" in order to expose and condemn the antinational and antidemocratic character of the "new constitution". Let us annotate the most counterrevolutionary provisions under these articles.

ON ARTICLE XVII. "TRANSITORY PROVISIONS"

Section 1. There shall be an interim National Assembly which shall exist immediately upon the ratification of this Constitution and shall continue until the members of the regular National Assembly shall have been elected and shall have assumed office following an election called for the purpose by the interim National Assembly. Except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, the interim National Assembly shall have the same powers and its members shall have the same functions, responsibilities, rights, privileges, and disqualifications as the regular National Assembly and the members thereof.

There is no definite time limit for the existence of this *interim* national assembly. It all depends on the pleasure of this *interim* national assembly or even more precisely on the fascist dictator Marcos as to when an election shall be called to elect the regular members of the national assembly.

It is self-serving enough for delegates of the big bourgeoisie and the landlord class in the convention to include themselves as members of this *interim* national assembly. Together with other cohorts of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, they shall always misrepresent their selfish interests as public interest and prolong their enjoyment of the powers and privileges of members of the regular national assembly.

These scoundrels in the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention have not made any kind of protest regarding the gross violations of their supposed parliamentary immunity, the forcible camp detention and house arrest of several convention

delegates who have stood against the dictates of the U.S.-Marcos clique. Instead, they have been bribed into approving the "new constitution" that is actually the handiwork of Malacanang. Among the privileges that each delegate stands to gain as member of the *interim* national assembly are annual salaries and allowances amounting to at least ₱200,000, aside from a still bigger income derivable from other nefarious activities related to "parliamentary" work. As a whole, the *interim* national assembly shall be an extremely expensive affair, with no less than 400 members drawing huge salaries and allowances. This shall be far more expensive than the outgoing Congress which has far less members and personnel.

Section 2. The members of the interim National Assembly shall be the incumbent President and Vice-President of the Philippines, those who served as President of the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention, those members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who shall express in writing to the Commission on Elections within thirty days after the ratification of this Constitution their option to serve therein, and those delegates to the nineteen hundred and seventy-one Constitutional Convention who have opted to serve therein by voting affirmatively for this Article. They may take their oath of office before any officer authorized to administer oath and qualify thereto, after the ratification of this Constitution.

This section seeks to cover up the illegality and unconstitutionality of General Order No. 1 and certain presidential decrees (like Presidential Decree No. 1 and the like) by which the fascist dictator has asserted his absolute authority over all branches of the government and usurped the legislative authority of the Senate and the House of Representatives. General Order No. 1 renders Congress inutile and even nonexistent, despite the elective status of its members. Presidential Decree No. 1 and similar decrees arrogantly declare certain bills still pending in Congress as "part of the law of the land".

What is exceedingly callous about the section above is that only three persons, especially the person who stands to gain most, the fascist dictator Marcos himself, are automatically members of the *interim* national assembly while all members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and all delegates of the reactionary constitutional convention are not automatically so. It is obvious that this section is intended to force and at the same time cajole the members of Congress and the convention delegates into working for the "ratification" of the "new constitution" or else suffer the consequences of political discrimination.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship hopes that by this section it can automatically and permanently put out of commission those members of Congress and convention delegates whom fascist dictator Marcos has put under camp detention, house arrest and death threat. When the voting was held on the "transitory provisions" last October 26, convention delegates had to secure "safe-conduct passes" from the Marcos hatchet-man Enrile in order to be allowed into the convention hall. By virtue of Section 3 (2) hereunder, several senators and congressmen opposed to the fascist dictatorship will not as a matter of principle be able to express in writing to the Commission on Elections their option to join the *interim* national assembly.

Section 3. (1) The incumbent President of the Philippines shall initially convene the interim National Assembly and shall preside over its sessions until the interim Speaker shall have been elected. He shall continue to exercise his powers and prerogatives under the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution and the powers vested in the President and the Prime Minister under this Constitution until he calls upon the interim National Assembly to elect the interim President and the interim Prime Minister who shall then exercise their respective powers vested by this Constitution.

(2) All proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, and acts promulgated, issued, or done by the incumbent President shall be part of the law of the land, and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the lifting of the martial law or the ratification of this Constitution, unless modified, revoked, or superseded by subsequent proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions, or other acts of the incumbent President, or unless expressly and explicitly modified or repealed by the regular National Assembly.

This section, with its two paragraphs, is the core of all the "transitory provisions" and even of the entire "new constitution". The fascist dictator Marcos shall continue to concentrate all powers in his hands in his three and contradictory capacities as president under the 1935 constitution and as president and prime minister under the "new constitution". He shall exercise the powers and prerogatives of the president under the 1935 constitution and yet he shall not necessarily be bound by the obligation set by the same constitution that he shall have to step down from the presidency in 1973, after he shall have served eight consecutive years as president. His powers and prerogatives shall be as absolute and unlimited as ever. Upon the "ratification" of the "new constitution", all his proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts shall be "part of the law of the land" (and the supreme part at that) and shall remain valid, legal, binding, and effective even after the formal lifting of martial law. In other words, a fascist dictatorship shall persist.

The first paragraph shows that the fascist dictator Marcos does not have full trust in the *interim* national assembly though this assemblage shall surely be at the beginning composed of members who are prevalently his agents. Thus, it is not the *interim* national assembly but it is explicitly he alone who shall decide when the *interim* national assembly shall elect the *interim* president and *interim* prime minister. Going by his self-interest, Marcos shall be able to keep himself in power for as long as he can and shall prevent for as long as he can the election of the *interim* president and *interim* prime minister. Outside and inside the *interim* national assembly, he has the powers and prerogatives to suppress any demand for such an election within the *interim* national assembly. However, he shall also be able to call for such an election and assure himself of being elected *interim* prime minister. He may do so, especially in face of the fact that after 1973 he shall be vulnerable to questions involving the provision in the 1935 constitution that a president cannot retain his office for more than eight consecutive years.

The second paragraph makes the fascist dictator more powerful than the entire *interim* national assembly. While the *interim* national assembly is in office, he shall have the supreme power of enforcing his old proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts and also promulgating new ones above and beyond the *interim* national assembly. Thus, this *interim* national assembly shall in principle and practice be inferior to one person and shall have more decorative value for the fascist dictatorship. If only the incumbent president or the regular national assembly, but not the *interim* national assembly, shall have the power to modify, revoke or supersede the proclamations, orders, decrees, instructions and acts of the incumbent president, then what is the point in the aforementioned Section 1 (second sentence) stating that the *interim* national assembly shall have the same powers as the regular national assembly? Under the above Section 3 (1) and (2), the *interim* national assembly shall merely be the rubber stamp of the fascist dictator. In effect, the provisional or *interim* government shall not have the least shred of the parliamentary form. It shall have a superpresidential, dictatorial and fascist form reflective of what makes the present regime entirely anomalous.

Section 5. The interim National Assembly shall give priority to measures for the orderly transition from the presidential to the parliamentary system, the reorganization of the Government, the eradication of graft and corruption, the effective maintenance of peace and order, the implementation of declared agrarian reforms, the standardization of compensation of government employees and such other measures as shall bridge the gap between the rich and the poor.

It is obvious by this section that the *interim* national assembly and the fascist dictator Marcos intend to keep themselves in office for as long as they can. Their declared intention is to perform not the functions of a transitional government that may last for one year or so but those of a long-term government that may last for several more years. The preposterous slogan of "save the republic and build a new society" expresses the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship's pipe dream of suppressing the people and reigning forever.

At any rate, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship talks of government reorganization and standardization of compensation of government employees only to tighten its control over all branches of the government by armed intimidation, build up and shift funds to the fascist military, lay off a great number of civilian government employees, disregard elective and civil service status of lesser officials, promote sycophants and

increase their salaries at the expense of middle and low-ranking employees. It talks of eradicating graft and corruption but the fascist dictator Marcos and his cronies have been for so many years the biggest and blackest perpetrators of malfeasance in the reactionary government. Marcos himself is the most notoriously undesirable character in the reactionary government. He has enriched himself in office in a manner that would make all previous presidents petty thieves. He has had a big cut in every major government contract or major business deal where government permission or guarantees are required. His large stockholdings and landholdings mostly under the names of dummies (Benedicto, Montelibano, Cojuangco, Zobel, Menzi, Elizalde, Silverio and others) have been acquired through abuse of political authority.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship talks of peace and order only to unleash the most vicious fascist crimes against the great masses of peasants, workers, students, teachers, professionals, women, small and medium businessmen, national minorities and even against the legal oppositionists in the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party. Behind the drive to collect high-powered firearms is the scheme of the fascist dictatorship to monopolize firearms and suppress the people and all possible opposition. Wanting to impose a "peace and order" for the benefit of the exploiting classes, the fascist dictatorship has on its part intensified counterrevolutionary violence and made it necessary for the people on their part to intensify revolutionary violence. The Marcos mass media may monopolize all legal news channels and impose a news blackout on the people's resistance but the fact is that revolutionary armed struggle has spread more rapidly from the northern end to the southern end of the Philippines since Proclamation No. 1081.

It is simply incongruous for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship to talk about bridging the gap between the rich and the poor. The truth is that it has taken every step to aggravate the exploitation of the broad masses of the people. The "new constitution" revolves around the term "just compensation" to preserve the interests of the big bourgeoisie (foreign monopolies and the big compradors) and the landlord class. Presidential Decree No. 27 has served only to artificially raise the price of the landlord's land and taunt the tenant masses that they cannot really buy out the landlords. We shall further discuss the intensification of imperialist, big comprador, landlord and bureaucrat exploitation under the fascist dictatorship.

Section 9. All officials and employees in the existing Government of the Republic of the Philippines shall continue in office until otherwise provided by law or decreed by the incumbent President of the Philippines, but all officials whose appointments are by this Constitution vested in the Prime Minister shall vacate their respective offices upon the appointment and qualification of their successors.

Section 10. The incumbent members of the Judiciary may continue in office until they reach the age of seventy years, unless sooner replaced in accordance with the preceding section hereof.

It is clear by these two sections that those in the service of the reactionary government shall continue to be completely at the mercy of the fascist dictatorship as under General Order No. 11, General Order No. 3 and Presidential Decree No. 1. But what interests the fascist Marcos most in these two sections is that he can change the present composition of the Supreme Court as he pleases and also make all the courts consistent instruments of his most antinational and antidemocratic executive fiat.

Under Section 4 of Article X entitled "The Judiciary", which provides that the members of the Supreme Court and judges of inferior courts shall be appointed by the prime minister, and under Section 1 (1) of the same article, which provides that the Supreme Court shall be composed of a chief justice and fourteen associate justices, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to continue threatening the present justices of the Supreme Court with replacement and shall also be able to simply add four more justices of his own choosing to the present eleven justices in order to make the Supreme Court a thoroughly rabid instrument of the fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship hopes to ensure that the Supreme Court shall continue to act in favor of the dictatorship in all cases involving Proclamation No. 1081. Even now, the present Supreme Court composed mostly of Marcos appointees has allowed the cases of political detainees to be overtaken by the "new constitution".

It is this same court which previously swallowed hook-line-and-sinker the tale of the Marcos fascist gang about the "July-August Plan" in 1971. Like the "judicial" appendage of any dictatorship, it has been an accomplice in the commission of fascist crimes.

Section 11. The rights and privileges granted to citizens of the United States or to corporations or associations owned or controlled by such citizens under the Ordinance appended to the nineteen hundred and thirty-five Constitution shall automatically terminate on the third day of July, nineteen hundred and seventy-four. Titles to private lands acquired by such persons before such date shall be valid as against other private persons only.

Section 12. All treaties, executive agreements, and contracts entered into by the Government or any subdivision, agency, or instrumentality thereof, including government-owned or controlled corporations, are hereby recognized as legal, valid, and binding. When the national interest so requires, the incumbent President of the Republic or the interim Prime Minister may review all contracts, concessions, permits, or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued, or acquired before the ratification of this Constitution.

The first sentence of Section 11 above appears to be progressive in the sense that it provides for the termination of the rights and privileges of U.S. business entities under the Parity Amendment on July 3, 1974. But in fact the second sentence negates what the first sentence provides. The second sentence protects U.S. entities and assures them of continued enjoyment of the lands (and improvements thereon) which they have unconstitutionally and illegally acquired. Elsewhere, the "new constitution" also requires "just compensation" for the take-over by the state of any private property. These constitute the complete negation or reversal of the recent supreme court decision on the Quasha case. The "new constitution" can be used to oppose the principle that U.S. entities have no right to own private lands in the Philippines and that the lands and improvements thereon (including structures and other investments) which have been illegally acquired are subject either to retrieval by previous private owners or confiscation by the state.

In this regard, the fascist dictator Marcos has been most vociferous in calling on U.S. business entities to create interlocking dummy corporations (where U.S. entities may own as much as 40 per cent equity) to serve as "owners" of the lands and also in assuring them of "just compensation" with regard to the dim possibility that the state may decide and act to expropriate these lands from them. All these serve to keep U.S. business entities in undiminished ownership and control of Philippine lands. They are all calculated to defeat the people's clamor for confiscation of the illegal U.S. landholdings, including the structures and investments thereon.

Section 12 throws away the provision under the 1935 constitution (Section 7, Article VII) that treaties entered into by the president need the concurrence or final ratification of the Philippine Senate in order to become binding and effective. Under the "new constitution", it shall suffice for the fascist dictator Marcos and his executive agents to enter into treaties, executive agreements, and contracts with other countries and foreign entities and these shall immediately be recognized as legal, valid and binding. U.S. imperialism is certainly anxious now to arrange with their chief Filipino puppet a "treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation" in order to carry over the worst features of the Laurel-Langley Agreement that is to terminate soon. Also, the Japanese zaibatsus must be more hopeful now than before that the Japan-Philippine "treaty of amity, commerce and navigation" will be ratified by the fascist dictator; this will be far better for them than individual business licenses for "liaison offices" which Marcos used previously to circumvent the nonratification of the aforementioned draft treaty.

As an autocratic head of state, the incumbent president Marcos may also review all contracts, concessions, permits or other forms of privileges for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of natural resources entered into, granted, issued or acquired even before the ratification of the "new constitution". This means to say that he shall have absolute power to deal with U.S. imperialism and other foreign monopolies in any way and that he shall be in a position to amass wealth even more viciously than when he was supposed to have enjoyed less power in the days before Proclamation No. 1081.

It is absolutely clear that the fascist dictator Marcos has been propped up precisely to protect and step up the oppressive and exploitative interests of U.S. imperialism and other related forces. In the succeeding discussion on certain provisions of Article XIV, we shall be able to see even more clearly that U.S. imperialism, together with its most rabid local running dogs, is behind the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution". The most extraordinary measures are taken by the most rabid local reactionaries whenever the interests of U.S. imperialism are at stake and whenever the dominance of these need renewal and expansion. The forcible making of the fascist dictatorship and the "new constitution" is directly related to the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement. It is an event exceedingly comparable to the forcible making of the fascistic Roxas regime and the adoption of the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Act.

ON ARTICLE XIV. THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE PATRIMONY OF THE NATION

Section 1. The National Assembly shall establish a National Economic and Development Authority, to be headed by the Prime Minister, which shall recommend to the National Assembly, after consultation with the private sector, local government units, and other appropriate public agencies, continuing, coordinated, and fully integrated social and economic plans and programs.

Section 3. The National Assembly shall, upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority, reserve to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations wholly owned by such citizens, certain traditional areas of investments when the national interest so dictates.

The National Economic and Development Authority will be the cloak for the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship in plundering the social wealth of the country. It will be no better than all or any of such agencies as the National Economic Council, the Presidential Economic Staff, the Board of Investments and the like. It shall continue to extend to foreign investors and big local compradors such special privileges and incentives as those carried by the Investment Incentives Act, Export Incentives Act and the like.

As the head of the National Economic and Development Authority, the fascist dictator Marcos shall be able to relay to the national assembly "recommendations" of U.S. imperialism which are usually first passed on to him and his "technocrats" by the U.S. imperialist agents in such agencies as the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and leading U.S. corporations, banks and foundations. By having the most decisive say on treaties, loan agreements, franchises, concessions, licenses and business contracts, he shall be able to further enlarge upon his personal wealth which is now superior in position and magnitude even to that of the Ayala, Soriano, and Zobel group. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism has its rewards for Marcos and his cohorts--the top oligarchs in the country.

Like the 1935 constitution, the "new constitution" allows U.S. and other foreign investors to own and control even to the extent of one hundred per cent of corporate equity in most areas of investments. More than fifty per cent of the \$2 to \$3 billion U.S. investments are now in these unrestricted areas of investments. Even in such areas as the operation of public utilities and exploitation of land and natural resources, foreign investors can comply with the requirement of at least sixty per cent Filipino equity but they can control Philippine corporations in various ways to an extent far beyond what their formal ownership of forty per cent equity or even less may seem to indicate. They can exercise this control through interlocking corporations and "service contracts". This control allows them to draw superprofits as if there were no restrictions on the extent of foreign equity.

It is very striking that Article XIV is now completely silent on what specifically are the "traditional areas of investments" that shall be reserved to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations wholly owned by such citizens. In previous drafts of the "new constitution", there were references to retail, indent, import and wholesale as areas where one hundred per cent Filipino equity is required. But now even these secondary areas of the economy are open prey to "recommendations" of the fascist dictator. By its obvious silence, Section 3 tends to nullify even the Retail Trade Nationalization Act.

Section 5. No franchise, certificate, or any other form of authorization for the operation of a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations organized under the laws of the Philippines at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens, nor shall such franchise, certificate, or authorization be exclusive in character or for a longer period than fifty years. Neither shall any such franchise or right be granted except under the condition that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the National Assembly when the public interest so requires. The State shall encourage equity participation in public utilities by the general public. The participation of foreign investors in the governing body of any public utility enterprise shall be limited to their proportionate share in the capital thereof.

Section 9. The disposition, exploration, development, or utilization of any of the natural resources of the Philippines shall be limited to citizens of the Philippines, or to corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of the capital of which is owned by such citizens. The National Assembly, in the national interest, may allow such citizens, corporations, or associations to enter into service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources. Existing valid and binding service contracts for financial, technical, management, or other forms of assistance are hereby recognized as such.

Section 5 above is quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 8 of Article XIV of the 1935 constitution by allowing the grant of a franchise, certificate or some other form of authorization for the operation for a period of fifty years of a public utility to citizens of the Philippines and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40 per cent. What makes this section utterly worse than its predecessor is that it explicitly allows participation of foreign investors in the governing body of a public utility, throws away the recent Supreme Court decision on the Lustevenco case disallowing foreigners to be employed in local businesses and assures the foreign personnel of local U.S. oil and transportation firms of continued privilege. This section also encourages the "general public" to buy stocks so that these could be manipulated by a few big capitalists who control a solid bloc of stocks. A solid bloc of stocks even if amounting only to 40 per cent equity or even less can easily control the diffused stocks of the "general public" even if these amount to 60 per cent equity or more in a corporation.

Section 9 is also similar to and as reactionary as Section 1 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution by allowing the disposition, exploration, development, exploitation or utilization of all public lands and all natural resources by citizens of the Philippines and to Philippine corporations or associations in which foreign equity is not more than 40 per cent. What is new in this section is that it approves one more method of circumventing the formal requirement of 40 per cent foreign equity in Philippine corporations, ensuring foreign control of Philippine business entities and, of course, enlarging the profits of the foreign investors far beyond the profits normally earned by 40 per cent equity in Philippine corporations. This method consists of allowing citizens of the Philippines and corporations or associations to enter into "service contracts" for financial, technical, management, or other forms of "assistance" with any foreign person or entity for the exploration, development, exploitation, or utilization of any of the natural resources and public lands. The arguments used by the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship for the adoption of this method are standard colonial and puppet arguments like the Philippines and Filipinos having no capital, technology and experience.

Even before the "ratification" of the "new constitution", Marcos threw the country wide open for oil exploration by foreign oil firms, mostly American and Japanese, by virtue of Presidential Decree No. 8 making the pending Senate Bill No. 531 (entitled An Act to Promote the Discovery and Production of Indigenous Petroleum and Appropriating Funds Therefor) a "part of the law of the land". Presidential Decree No. 8 sets the pattern for "service contracts"--a pattern for assuring foreign investors control over public lands and natural resources, tax exemptions and high profits far beyond what 40 per cent foreign equity would yield. This kind of decree is considered valid and binding by Section 9.

Section 11. The National Assembly, taking into account conservation, ecological, and developmental requirements of the natural resources, shall determine by law the size of lands of the public domain which may be developed, held or acquired by, or leased to, any qualified individual, corporation, or association, and the conditions therefor. No private corporation or association may hold alienable lands of the public domain except by lease not to exceed one thousand hectares in area; nor may any citizen hold such lands by lease in excess of five hundred hectares or acquire by purchase or homestead in excess of twenty-four hectares. No private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license, or permit, timber or forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of one hundred thousand hectares; however, such area may be increased by the National Assembly upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority.

Though certain limits are set on the size of public lands to be disposed to individuals, corporations or associations, such limits are still extremely large and harmful to public interest and, furthermore, will not stop the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords from holding unlimited areas of public lands under various individual names and corporate names. Going by precedents, the reactionary government will certainly lease out individually to private corporations public lands far in excess of 1,000 hectares and also individually to private persons far in excess of 500 hectares. It will still allow private persons to acquire by purchase or "homestead" public lands far in excess of twenty-four hectares.

In fact, big landgrabbers in frontier areas have always insisted that vast tracts of cultivated lands are public lands only to proceed to holding these by lease, concession, license or permit and later on securing titles to these lands as their own private lands by claiming to have developed them. In the process, the landgrabbers dispossess the poor settlers and the national minorities through armed force and deceit with the active support of the reactionary government and its military troops. After all, the reactionary government has always encouraged the comprador-landlords to expand their landholdings by grabbing public lands and has repeatedly declared as part of its sham land reform program that they can get public lands in exchange for their lands that may be expropriated elsewhere.

Also, the reactionary government has encouraged U.S. corporations, especially those in agriculture, mining and logging, to hold hundreds of thousands of hectares of public lands. Corporations of the reactionary government have been most instrumental in letting foreign plantation interests take hold of wide tracts of public land in Mindanao and elsewhere under the cover of "growers' agreements". And, of course, the entire "new constitution" is silent about the fact that U.S. military bases and stations sit on about 200,000 hectares of public lands. This occupation of public lands by a foreign military power is properly prohibited by the definition of territory by a truly sovereign state.

The last two sentences of Section 11 above are utterly ridiculous. In one sentence, it is made to appear that no private corporation or association may hold by lease, concession, license or permit timber or forest lands and other timber or forest resources in excess of 100,000 hectares. In the subsequent sentence, it is provided that such area may be increased by the national assembly upon recommendation of the National Economic and Development Authority. Indeed, bureaucrat capitalism can always cook up situations and reasons for disposing unlimited amounts of public lands.

Section 6. The State may, in the interest of national welfare or defense, establish and operate industries and means of transportation and communication, and, upon payment of just compensation, transfer to public ownership utilities and other private enterprises to be operated by the Government.

Section 7. In times of national emergency when the public interest so requires; the State may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business affected with public interest.

The property and interests of the big bourgeoisie, including the foreign monopolies and the local big compradors, are well sanctified by the "new constitution". Section 6 above, quite similar to and as reactionary as Section 6 of Article XIII of the 1935 constitution, categorically provides that public utilities and other private enterprises cannot be transferred to public ownership without "just compensation".

The Investment Incentives Act goes even as far as to guarantee the right of nonexpropriation to foreign investors. Consistent with this act, U.S. imperialism has tied down the reactionary government to investment insurance schemes covering U.S. investments so that the guarantees for the extraordinary privilege of nonexpropriation shall not only be in word but also in fact.

The basic requirement of "just compensation" guarantees that the property and interests of the big bourgeoisie are not to be diminished but are even to be enlarged. How can a financially bankrupt government, with small revenues and huge internal and external debts, offer "just compensation" to its foreign masters? Even before the termination of the Parity Amendment and the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it clear that U.S. investors should not worry too much about reducing their equities to 40 per cent in corporations engaged in the areas of public utilities, land and natural resources for as long as neither the reactionary government nor private Filipino businessmen can afford to buy them out. This is what Marcos calls "justice" and "fairness" to his imperialist masters. Furthermore, even if the U.S. investors were to be bought out on their equity excesses, they are still free to shift their capital to so many other lucrative fields of investment in the country.

Without any mention of "just compensation", Section 7 above provides that in times of "national emergency" the state may temporarily take over or direct the operation of any privately owned public utility or business. This section is specifically intended to preempt claims for damages that may be made by business enterprises maliciously shut down or taken over by the fascist dictator Marcos for his political and economic gain. Under Proclamation No. 1081, there has been a real and selective but temporary take-over of such enterprises as the MERALCO, ABS-CBN, ABC, *Manila Times*, *Manila Chronicle*, *Free Press*, IISMII and so many others. It has never been in accord with public interest for the fascist dictatorship to make such take-over. Such take-over is merely a part of the narrow scheme to suppress the opponents and critics of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and also allow the private business interests of the fascist dictator to muscle in. The most conspicuous private business interests of Marcos that have been benefitted by Proclamation No. 1081 are the *Daily Express*, KBS-RPN, Liwayway Publications Group, P.T.D.T. and ELISCO. With regard to the long-term implications of either Section 6 or 7, we state that a reactionary state can never truly stand for national welfare, defense or public interest.

Section 12. The State shall formulate and implement an agrarian reform program aimed at emancipating the tenant from the bondage of the soil and achieving the goals enunciated in this Constitution.

Section 13. The National Assembly may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of private lands to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to deserving citizens.

Taken together, Section 12 and Section 13 demonstrate the rank hypocrisy and demagoguery of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The first section repeating phrases from Marcos' Presidential Decree No. 27 provides that there shall be an agrarian reform program. On the other hand, the second section echoing Section 4, Article XIII of the 1935 constitution demands that "just compensation" be paid to the landlords in cases of expropriation. In effect, the tenants can be emancipated only if they themselves can afford the prohibitive redistribution price (plus interest and tax payments) demanded by the reactionary government. In other words, the "new constitution" actually sets a condition for preventing the poor peasants and lower-middle peasants from coming to own their share of land.

It must be pointed out that there has never been any poor peasant, farm worker or lower-middle peasant who has been emancipated by trying to pay for the landlord's land under the "expropriation" program of the reactionary government. In the first place, the reactionary government is restricted by its own political character and financial limitations from expropriating even only one per cent of the total landholdings of the landlord class. For instance, only 3,876 hectares were expropriated at the cost of ₱16,002,900 by the reactionary government during the entire life of the Agricultural Land Reform Code from 1963 to 1971. This area is equivalent only to a very small portion of the Marcos hacienda of 22,000 hectares in the Cagayan Valley.

Lately, the fascist dictator Marcos has made it even more obvious than ever before through Presidential Decree No. 27 that the poor peasants, farm workers and

lower-middle peasants can never hope to give "just compensation" to the landlords or afford the redistribution price set by the reactionary government. The formula dictated by Presidential Decree No. 27 for determining the value of the landlord's land, i.e., the average annual crop (based on three normal crop years) multiplied by two and one-half (2 1/2) plus annual interest charges of six per cent for fifteen years, has artificially increased the value of the landlord's land far beyond its "fair market value". Presidential Decree No. 27 is even more foolish than the Agricultural Land Reform Code of 1963 and its 1971 modified version, the Code of Agrarian Reforms. This decree has served only to expose further the counterrevolutionary character of the fascist dictatorship among the peasant masses and to stress the correct revolutionary program of distributing land to the poor peasants, farm workers and lower-middle peasants at no cost. The fascist dictatorship is simply daydreaming when it claims that Presidential Decree No. 27 has effectively counteracted the agrarian revolution being waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the peasant masses.

OUR ATTITUDE AND POLICY ON THE "NEW CONSTITUTION"

There is no fundamental difference between the 1935 constitution and the "new constitution" in the sense that U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to be given the license to ride roughshod over the broad masses of the people. The most striking difference that is in the "new constitution" is neither the adoption of the parliamentary form of government, the lowering of the age of suffrage nor any thing else of the sort, as some may superficially think, but it is the rabidly counterrevolutionary endorsement of a fascist dictatorship out to preserve the old society even while calling it a "new society" against the ever rising tide of the revolutionary mass movement. This "new constitution" is essentially and completely repugnant to the national sovereignty and democratic rights of the Filipino people.

Now that the final draft of the "new constitution" is out, it is absolutely clear that the very idea of holding the 1971-72 constitutional convention, without any prior fundamental change of the social order, has been part of a long-nurtured scheme of the U.S.-Marcos clique to keep itself in power even beyond 1973 through a vicious rightist counterrevolutionary coup and a fascist dictatorship. The 1970 elections for delegates were fashioned in such a manner as to bring to the reactionary constitutional convention the biggest possible number of big comprador, big landlord and big bureaucrat delegates beholden to the political machinery of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

Subsequently in the convention, the U.S.-Marcos clique scandalously manipulated its minions against a broad range of progressive delegates determined to stop the obvious scheme to perpetuate Marcos in power. The Quintero expose showed up the corrupt methods employed by this clique to keep its minions in tow. Then in one fell swoop, upon the declaration of martial rule, the full-fledged fascist dictatorship took every measure to suppress its opponents inside and outside the convention. Thus, it came to pass that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship succeeded in ramming through the convention the final draft of the "new constitution" now offered for "ratification" in one more farce--a sham plebiscite on January 15, 1973.

Only after the final signing of this "new constitution" by the farcical constitutional convention on November 30, 1972 has the fascist dictator Marcos decreed with the silly air of self-indulgence an order to his military minions to allow "free discussion and debate". This he does while he continues to unleash the wildest and most futile kinds of onslaught against the broad masses of workers, peasants, students, youth, women and the national minorities. This he does while he continues to suppress all open and legal organizations, mass media and other entities that are firmly opposed to his tyrannical rule. This he does while his spies continue to eavesdrop on the people's ordinary conversations.

The fascist dictator Marcos now appears to believe that he has sufficiently intimidated the broad masses of the people and deceived them about his perverse record and ambitions. He has monopolized the use of armed force in urban areas and elsewhere, all instrumentalities of the reactionary government, the mass media, the schools and everything else which he can actually take over or threaten with armed force. He is going by his previous boast that as some sort of military conqueror he is comparable to the infamous imperialist General Arthur MacArthur who as head of the U.S. aggressor troops in the Philippines issued in 1902 General Order No. 68, declaring martial law.

Even while this colonial military order was not lifted until sometime in the thirties, the U.S. colonial government issued and put into effect "fundamental laws" governing the Philippines as a colony..

Though he has several times boasted of his Proclamation No. 1081 as a "new and outstanding contribution to international jurisprudence", the fascist dictator actually traces the antecedence of this proclamation to the general order of a barbaric foreign aggressor, U.S. imperialism, which he continues to serve. What the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship calls "martial law Philippine-style" is also nothing but a cheap imitation of the tricks of such contemporary fascist dictators as Thieu, Pak Jung Hi, Lon Nol, Suharto, Chiang, Thanom, Papadopoulos and the like, and also of such bygone fascist dictators as Hitler, Mussolini, Batista, Ngo Dinh Diem and the like. All of these have had their own constitutions permitting them to rule indefinitely.

The confidence of the fascist dictator Marcos in allowing "free discussion and debate" on the "new constitution" arises from several facts. The period before January 15 is extremely short. The most powerful legal means of communications spout only his counterrevolutionary propaganda. The printing and handling of ballots are under the full control of his rabid agents in the Commission on Elections and in the reactionary armed forces. The constitutional convention delegates eager to take their share of the loot are bound to do a lot of campaigning all over the country. Local officials of the reactionary government irrespective of their political parties are under duress and are under strict orders to support the "new constitution" under the pretext of "nonpartisanship". Furthermore, the counting of votes or more precisely the misreporting of votes to the public shall finally be made by his rabid agents even as the honest public school teachers shall have made a fair counting of votes.

The fascist dictator has always stressed that there is no more turning back from his mad lurch. He is terrified by the prospect of having to pay with his life the many grave crimes of fascism, puppetry and corruption that he has perpetrated on the people. His stakes are now far higher than in any previous election when he at any rate resorted to fraud and terrorism. Likewise, the stakes of his imperialist masters are high. Thus, he would resort to every possible measure in the forthcoming "plebiscite" in order to perpetuate himself in power and to give a semblance of constitutionality and legality to his usurpation of absolute power. It is by the "ratification" of the "new constitution" that he hopes to be able to cling more tightly to U.S. imperialism and rule indefinitely.

But the people will never respect a "constitution" that is the product and token of their enemy. Since the fascist dictator is fond of drawing parallelisms between the Philippines and south Vietnam, let us remind him that the late unlamented Ngo Dinh Diem was able to fabricate his own "constitution" against the people's will while he boasted that he was preempting the revolution in south Vietnam. Such constitution and such boasting only damned Ngo and the Vietnamese revolution advanced even more vigorously. We are certain of two possibilities for the fascist dictator Marcos: either he shall be outmaneuvered by his fellow reactionaries in a relatively short time or he shall stay in power long enough to hear the New People's Army approaching Malacanang. In any case, the people's wrath shall have something to do with his fate.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to expose and condemn the "new constitution" as a license for keeping the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship indefinitely and for aggravating the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people by the foreign monopolists, the big compradors and big landlords. We are determined to focus attention on the proimperialist and antidemocratic provisions which make the "new constitution" essentially and completely counterrevolutionary. Together with all our allies, we are determined to arouse and mobilize the entire nation and people to reject this filthy scrap of paper made in Malacanang. It is apt to call this the Marcos constitution in order to unmask its despicable author.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship may be able to frustrate and make a mockery of the people's will in a "plebiscite" that is under its control. But then in the end, will a filthy scrap of paper really save the fascist dictatorship from the wrath of the people? Mere hypocritical invocations of "constitutional rule" will not make the fascist dictatorship less than its abhorrent self. The longer the U.S.-Marcos dictator-

ship reigns, the more determined are the broad masses of the Filipino people to overthrow it. They shall surely win under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Reject the Marcos constitution!

Expose the sham plebiscite!

Down with the martial rule of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Carry forward the revolutionary armed struggle!

Long live the Filipino people!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

December 3, 1972

* * *

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375) (P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES

DATE: 1/5/73

Re San Francisco letter dated 11/10/72 and LHM of same date but datelined at Washington, D.C.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above, but datelined at Washington, D.C. to more fully protect the identity of [redacted]. Also enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) xeroxed copies, each, of the following five publications of the CCP:

b7D

1. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 9/9/72 entitled: "NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY THWARTS ENEMY CAMPAIGN OF 'ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION' IN NORTHERN LUZON FROM NOVEMBER 1971 TO MAY 1972" (This consists of four pages).
2. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 10/1/72, entitled: "OVERTHROW THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" (This is a 13 page statement by the Central

⑥ - Bureau (Encls. 60) (RM)
 ② - Legat, Manila
 (1 - 105-184369) (RU)
 (1 - [redacted])
4 - San Francisco
 (1 - 100-26375)
 (1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
 (1 - 100-61281) (RU)
 (1 - [redacted])
JES/pkv (S-7)
(10)

b7D

0-7, 2-13-73

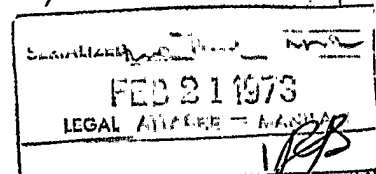
[Signature]

Copies Destroyed



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

Committee of the CPP concerning its reaction to and its plans to counteract the Philippine Government's declaration of marital law).

3. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 11/1/72 entitled: "MARCOS LAND REFORM--A BIG HOAX" (This consists of five pages).
4. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 11/15/72 entitled: "REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP" (This is a three page issue).
5. "Ang Bayan" Special Release dated 12/5/72 entitled: "THE 'NEW CONSTITUTION' IS A LICENSE OF THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP TO FURTHER OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT THE FILIPINO PEOPLE" (This is a 12 page statement of the Central Committee of the CPP issued 12/3/72 which discusses the new constitution developed by the Philippines Constitutional Convention and calls for its rejection by the Filipino people).

Source mentioned in [redacted] b7D
who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA JAMES E. SHERRIFF.

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further protect the identity of [redacted] a source of continuing value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known. b7D
Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.

San Francisco will continue to advise the Bureau of items which the RU may receive from captioned organization.

The American Embassy
February 23, 1973

b6
b7C

[Redacted]
Senior Resident Agent
Naval Investigative Service Resident Agency
Sarmiento Building
Makati, Philippines

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing the material described
below, which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

Russell Jean Gray, Jr.
Legal Attache
American Embassy
Manila, Philippines

Reference:

Enc.: One copy of a memorandum dated January 5, 1973,
at Washington, D. C., captioned "Communist
Party of the Philippines."

1 - Addressee
1 - Manila (105-88)

RJG-nme

(2) ✓

Also sent to [Redacted] & OSI

RJG 105-88-17

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed.....

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MATERIAL ATTACHED



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.

February 23, 1973

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

During January, 1973, a source made available an issue of the "English Edition" of "Ang Bayan", which is self-identified as published by the Communist Party of the Philippines. According to the source, this publication had been received by a revolutionary organization in the United States [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] This publication was produced on legal-sized paper, the first page being headed as follows:

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



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b6
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DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE
OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 2
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED
ON: INDEFINITE~~

105-88-18

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LEGAL ATTACHE - MANILA	

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ICC sent

4-10-73 nre

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

According to the source, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] the return address:

Philippine Underwriters Corporation
P.O. Box 2566
Manila

The mentioned issue of "Ang Bayan", dated December 26, 1972 is entitled: "The Party Enters Its Fifth Year Since Peestablishment" and opens with the following statement:

"The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution..."

The issue consists of five pages and presents its ideas under four sub-headings. The first, entitled: "The Party Develops The Marxist-Leninist Standpoint, Viewpoint and Method", discusses the study and propaganda policies of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and declares that:

"Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method..."

The next section of this issue of "Ang Bayan", under sub-heading, "The Party Maintains Its Political Leadership In The Revolutionary Struggle", declares that the CPP has "asserted its leadership" in the "revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing..."

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

This section further states:

"The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It... has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969... But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided... the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution..."

The following two paragraphs, quoted from page 3 of this issue of "Ang Bayan", discuss the united front activities of the CPP:

"The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages into a broad national united front against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this revolutionary united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in the countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for the Establishment of the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continue to advance. The many democratic mass organizations, especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the black-list of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army."

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

The last two sub-headings of this issue of "Ang Bayan" are entitled: "Party Members Are Drawn from the Ranks of the Revolutionary Masses" and "The Philippine Struggle Enjoys the Support of the World's Peoples".

Under the first of these two sub-headings, the statement is made that: "The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries... It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate-members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead... As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work..."

Under the last sub-heading it is stated that: "The Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction... and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism." However, no mention is made of any direct or specific support of the CPP from abroad.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Washington, D.C.

February 23, 1973

Title COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

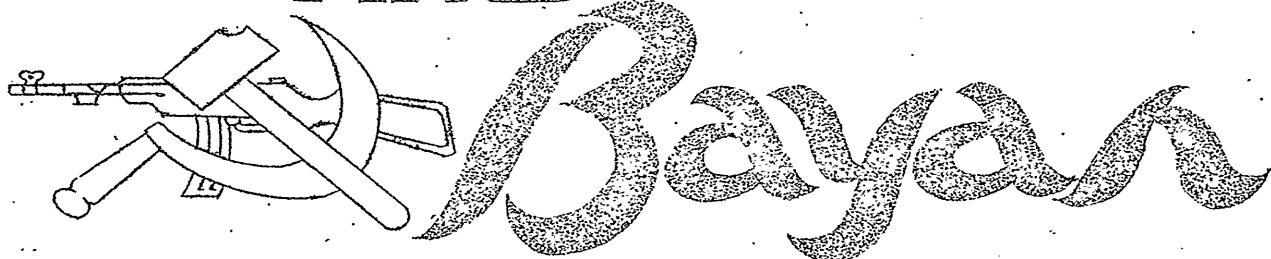
Character INTERNAL SECURITY - PHILIPPINES

Reference Washington, D.C. memorandum dated
 and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

ANG

PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO-LENINISMO-KAISIPANG MAO TSETUNG



Special Release

(English Edition)

December 26, 1972

THE PARTY ENTERS ITS FIFTH YEAR SINCE REESTABLISHMENT

The Communist Party of the Philippines has successfully undergone the test of four years of difficult revolutionary struggle since the Congress of Reestablishment on December 26, 1968. By keeping to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, this revolutionary party of the proletariat has steadily grown and steeled itself in the crucible of armed revolution against armed counterrevolution.

The emergence of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has only served to show the utter bankruptcy of imperialist and feudal rule and to underscore the fact that the Communist Party of the Philippines is the party that is most prepared and most capable to lead the broad masses of the Filipino people in the life-and-death struggle for national freedom and democracy.

As the Party enters its fifth year since its reestablishment, it has to fight ever more vigorously and ever more militantly against a fascist dictatorship that knows no bounds for its puppetry, brutality, corruption and mendacity. A new and higher level of revolutionary struggle has come about; conditions for waging armed revolution against the armed counterrevolution ~~is~~ more than ever excellent. The widespread criminal abuses of the fascist dictatorship have not cowed the people but have roused them to exert greater revolutionary efforts along the course charted by the Party and the proletariat.

The Party Develops the Marxist-Leninist Standpoint, Viewpoint and Method

The Communist Party of the Philippines is bound to outlast the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship because it is firmly founded on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Under the impact of the revolutionary movement resolutely led by the Party, the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bound to be swept away into the dustbin of history. This fascist dictatorship is a mere passing phase in the evil career of U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. On the other hand, the Party shall live on as the revolutionary leader in the national-democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

The determination of the Filipino people to achieve national freedom and democracy is most concentrated in our Party which, acting as the most advanced detachment of the proletariat, constantly strives to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. Among Party cadres and members, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung are disseminated, read and studied in order to shed light on the Philippine revolution and develop the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method.

The scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the reservoir of revolutionary strength for the Party and the people. As the Philippine revolutionary struggle intensifies, the persistent struggle of the Party against modern revisionism, purveyed by the Soviet social-imperialists and the Lava revisionist renegades, is serving well the cause of national freedom and democracy. The Party remains firm in striving to fulfill its central task of overthrowing the reactionary state and can more easily than before its reestablishment avoid the pitfalls of subjectivism, either in the form of dogmatism or empiricism.

The Central Committee has always taken the lead in the Party in giving a national form to Marxism-Leninism. It has issued comprehensive and concrete analyses of Philippine society and revolution. It has not allowed a single major national issue or problem pass without concrete analysis and without expression of a definite political stand. It has issued timely statements against the puppet and comprador-landlord U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, exposing its fascist character and defining the current tasks of the Party.

The plan to provide Party members and candidate-members with primary education on Marxist-Leninist principles and on the Philippine society and revolution is well fulfilled. The Central Committee and the regional committees are working hard to carry out the intermediate and advanced courses of study. In line with their Marxist-Leninist education, Party cadres and members at every level and in every unit of work sum up their work on a regular and timely basis. Criticism and self-criticism is carried out in order to rectify errors, improve the style of work and raise the level of work.

The Party Maintains Its Political Leadership in the Revolutionary Struggle

The Communist Party of the Philippines has asserted its leadership in the Philippine revolution by correctly setting and pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It draws strength from the revolutionary armed struggle that it is indefatigably waging in the countryside and from the national united front that it is patiently developing. Having a full grasp of the correct political programme, the Party can avoid major errors of policy, such as Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism, or rectify them when ever they occur.

The New People's Army is the Party's principal instrument for bringing together the proletariat and the peasantry, for carrying out the agrarian revolution, for building mass organizations in the countryside and for establishing local people's government in preparation for nationwide seizure of political power. It has been steeled by persevering revolutionary struggle against fascist counter-revolution. It has not only preserved itself against military "task forces", the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and now the declaration of martial rule and the advent of a full-fledged fascist dictatorship but has continued to advance and wipe out enemy forces in ever increasing numbers.

Cal
ing
5

The New People's Army has wiped out landlord despots, including incorrigible bad elements, and several thousands of enemy troops since 1969. Since the formal declaration of martial rule, it has wiped out enemy troops at an accelerated rate far exceeding any previous rate and on a rapidly expanding scale. More guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones are arising in every major region of the country. Furthermore, the Mindanao national minorities are now politically and militarily coordinating with the Party and the New People's Army. But what is most fearsome to the enemy is that the Party has provided the New People's Army and the peasant masses the Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform in order to systematize, expand and intensify the agrarian revolution and fulfill the main content of the people's democratic revolution. The land reform hoax of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bound to go the way of all such hoaxes in the past in the face of the agrarian revolution.

The political and economic crisis of the ruling system has become so grave that the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship has been set up to oppose the rising tide of the revolutionary movement. This fascist dictatorship is in line with the "Nixon doctrine" and is specifically calculated to retain and enlarge U.S. imperialist and comprador-landlord interests in the country. The Marcos constitution rammed through the 1971-72 reactionary constitutional convention reflects the malevolent schemes of the U.S. imperialists and ~~its~~ ^{their} most rabid running dogs. The new turn of events in the Philippines demonstrates the common bankruptcy of the fascists, revisionists and various stripes of reformists who have harped on the line that the "new constitution" is the "last hope of the people".

In the present situation, the national united front is expanding rapidly as a result of the wanton assaults of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship on the broad masses of the proletariat, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Among those assaulted are also the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista ^{Party}, the overwhelming majority of the legal press, the national minorities and others who have opposed the flagrant abuses of the U.S.-Marcos clique. The fascist dictatorship has in effect isolated itself from the broad masses of the people and at the same time aggravated its violent conflicts even with other reactionaries. The imposition of the present fascist rule is the culmination of the second Plaza Miranda massacre and all other massacres perpetrated by the U.S.-Marcos clique.

The Party is enthusiastically bringing together all democratic classes, groups and personages into a broad national united front against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. The most solid expression of this revolutionary united front is the establishment of local organs of political power in the countryside. The barrio revolutionary committees and barrio organizing committees being built in guerrilla base areas and guerrilla zones, respectively, serve as the basis for the development of the national united front and the people's democratic government. Having revolutionary foresight, the Party has seen fit to put these committees in their proper context by issuing the Guide for the Establishment of the People's Democratic Government.

In the cities, the Party is also actively striving to bring together a broad range of allies who look forward to a coalition government on a nationwide scale and who are at any rate contributing what they can to the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Despite enemy assaults, the workers' revolutionary movement and the cultural revolution continue to advance. The many democratic mass organizations, especially those in factories, schools, communities and offices, have gone underground. But they continue to conduct mass work and effective propaganda against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. At the same time, so many mass activists who are in the black-list of the enemy have been integrated into the New People's Army.

Party Members Are Drawn
from the Ranks of the Revolutionary Masses

The Party continues to draw its members and candidate-members from the ranks of Red fighters and activists in the mass organizations and localities. The Party has a broad mass character. Its cadres and members are tested revolutionaries with the capability of leading large numbers of masses. Furthermore, the Central Committee has during the last two years been quite successful in deploying cadres to all major regions of the country and in creating provisional and duly elected regional committees which have in turn created Party branches and groups in units of the New People's Army, localities and mass organizations.

Largely due to its correct ideological and political line, the Party has been able to develop its present organizational strength. It has now a few thousands of Party members and candidate-members. But this number is still small in relation to the gigantic tasks at hand and ahead. Many functions are still crying for more revolutionary cadres. As a matter of fact, most members of the Central Committee are tied down to regional work. Because of the infancy of the Party, violations of democratic centralism and sectarianism do occur at certain levels and in certain areas. However, these mistakes are being vigorously counteracted by the Central Committee.

Since last year's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, efforts have been intensified to develop the revolutionary underground on an extensive scale. Thus, upon the imposition of martial rule, the Party has been able to avoid the crushing blows of the enemy. It now functions as the core of a much-expanded underground. However, there is a continuing need to develop the underground and the system of communications between the Party center and the regions and within the regions. The enemy is hell bent on employing its superior system of communications to its advantage and deliberately trying to cut-off one area from another. So far, we have been able to counteract his tactics and circumvent or penetrate his blockades. We are also determined to disrupt his system of communications.

Every unit of the Party and also every unit under Party leadership should strive for self-reliance. Also, the style of hard struggle and simple living should characterize all Party cadres and members while they exert all efforts to improve the people's livelihood by carrying out the agrarian revolution, the workers' strike movement and other like struggles. The Party should see to it that the people's democratic government and the people's army are supported not through contributions and taxation alone but also through productive activities.

The Philippine Revolutionary Struggle
Enjoys the Support of the World's Peoples

The revolutionary struggle led by the Communist Party of the Philippines is immensely supported by the great achievements of the Chinese people in socialist revolution and socialist construction, the victorious advance of the Indochinese people against U.S. imperialism, the revolutionary struggles of all other Southeast Asian peoples and the revolutionary unity of the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and other peoples of Asia against U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism.

The revolutionary struggles of the Palestinian and Arab people against the two superpowers; of the African peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism and racial discrimination; of the Latin-American peoples against U.S. imperialism; of the Eastern European peoples against Soviet social-imperialism; of middle-sized and small countries against big-power chauvinism and nuclear blackmail; and of all working people in capitalist countries also constitute powerful support to the Philippine revolution.

The revolutionary struggles and victories of the peoples of the world have drastically weakened the imperialist countries to the core and lessened the area for unhindered imperialist exploitation and oppression. U.S. imperialism is increasingly finding itself hemmed in and in contradiction even with its own capitalist kindred, like Japan, Western Europe and the Soviet Union. Suffering serious setbacks all over the world, U.S. imperialism is increasingly unable to cover up its deep-seated contradictions with the American proletariat and people. The revolutionary mass movement in the United States is steadily gaining ground.

Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over are increasing in number and raising their fighting prowess. They serve as the guarantee for the advance of the world proletarian revolution. They lead the peoples of various countries in a resolute struggle against imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is determined to lead the Philippine revolution from victory to victory. It is exerting all efforts to arouse and mobilize the Filipino people, achieve the people's democratic revolution against U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs and fulfill its share in the liberation of mankind from the scourge of imperialism.

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

Unite to overthrow the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship!

Fight for national freedom and democracy!

Expand and intensify the revolutionary armed struggle!

Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!

Down with U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

December 26, 1972

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI (64-200-239)

DATE: 2/23/73

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-26375) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (CPP)
IS - PHILIPPINES
OO: Bureau

Re San Francisco letters dated 11/10/72 and
1/5/73, with LHMs of same dates but datelined
at Washington, D.C.

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10) copies of an
LHM dated and captioned as above, but datelined at
Washington, D.C. to more fully protect the identity of
[redacted] Also enclosed for the Bureau are ten (10)
xeroxed copies of the following publication of
the CCP:

b7D

"Ang Bayan" special release dated 12/26/72,
entitled: "The Party Enters Its Fifth Year
Since Reestablishment" (consisting of five
legal-sized pages).

Legat, Manila is advised there is no objection
to disseminating a copy of referenced LHMs or of enclosed
LHM to the [redacted]

b7D

The LHMs being datelined at Washington,
D.C. and classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ should sufficiently protect
the identity of the source.

- (6) - Bureau (Encls. 20) (RM)
(2) - Legat, Manila (105-88)
(1 - 105-184369) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])
4 - San Francisco
(1 - 100-26375)
(1 - 105-882) (Philippine Activities)
(1 - 100-61281) (RU)
(1 - [redacted])
JES/pkv (S-7)
(10)

b7D

105-88-19

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 1 1973	
LEGAL ATTACHE - MANILA	



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SF 100-26375
JES/pkv

b7D

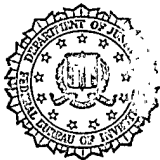
Source mentioned [REDACTED]
who is contacted daily (except weekends) by SA JAMES E. SHEPPIFF.

Enclosed LHM is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to further protect the identity of [REDACTED] a source of continuing value who could possibly suffer financial loss and physical harm were his cooperation with the FBI to become known. Unauthorized disclosure of his identity could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.

b7D

San Francisco will continue to advise the Bureau of items which the PU may receive from captioned organization.

Bureau is considered origin in captioned matter since the CPP is located abroad in the Philippines.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

COPY RECORD

Attached is FBI ☐ report ☐ memorandum dated (month, day, year) _____
at (city, state) _____ concerning (title) _____

In the event it is necessary to make additional copies for official use within your agency, complete the lower portion of this form and return it to (FBI Division) _____. If necessary to make further duplication subsequent to use of this form, specific clearance should be secured from the FBI Division indicated above.

To: _____ FBI File No. _____

From:

Regarding FBI ☐ report ☒ memorandum dated (month, day, year) JANUARY 5, 1973
at (city, state) WASHINGTON, D. C. concerning (title) "COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE
PHILIPPINES"

it has been necessary to make additional copies for official use within this agency, as indicated below:

Number of Copies Made	Distribution
ONE	NAVAL INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE HDQTRS, ALEXANDRIA, VA
ONE	NAVAL INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE, RESIDENT AGENCY, MANILA, RP
ONE	NAVAL INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE OFFICE, PHILIPPINES
ONE	NAVAL INVESTIGATIVE SERVICE, PACIFIC, HONOLULU, HAWAII
ONE	COMMANDER U.S. NAVAL FORCES, PHILIPPINES (INTELLIGENCE DIV)

105-55-20

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 28 1973	
LEGAL ATTACHE - MANILA	

The American Embassy
Manila, Philippines
April 11, 1973

Brigadier General Wilfredo Estrada
Acting Director
Civilian Intelligence and Security Agency
Quezon City, Philippines

Dear Sir:

For your information, I am enclosing the material described
below, which may be of interest to you.

Very truly yours,

Russell Jean Gray, Jr.
Legal Attache

Reference:



Enc.: One copy of a memorandum dated February 23,
1973, at Washington, D. C., captioned
"COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES."

1 - Addressee
1 - Manila (105-88)
RJG-nme
(2)

105-88-21

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed.....*nme*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ MATERIAL ATTACHED

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : File 105-88 (C)

DATE: 6/20/73

FROM : Legat

SUBJECT: CDP-M/L
IS-PHILIPPINES

In the absence of additional information from the San Francisco Office or requests from CISA, this case should be closed.

1 - M.N



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

105-88-22

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JUN 20 1973
LEGAL ATTACHE - MANILA

The Nation

21 members of urban guerilla unit fall in raids

ALEX D. ALLAN

of the Express staff

A more sophisticated version of the urban guerilla unit organized for liquidation, sabotage, and espionage purposes, was uncovered recently by the military with the arrest of 21 officers and key members of the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines in a series of raids on an intricate network of "underground houses" in Greater Manila and Rizal.

Brig. Gen. Fidel V. Ramos, PO chief, in making the announcement yesterday, said that the deadly military-type unit called itself the "armed city partisans" or ACP. He considered the arrest of its 21 key members as one of the greatest achievements in the government's success-filled drive to totally dismantle the com-

munist party apparatus and its New People's Army urban guerilla machinery in the metropolitan area.

General Ramos said that the ACP was organized early in 1972 primarily to undertake liquidation, sabotage, and espionage missions against government and armed forces personnel and installations as well as to conduct limited military operations in the city so as to tie down the AFP and its rear bastions.

Believed to be deadlier and more destructive than the urban guerilla units of the traditional Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, which was crushed following a series of lightning raids in Greater Manila last December, the ACP, according to intelligence experts, would have sown more fear and havoc on the populace had it not

been unmasked in time.

Among the ACP's plans uncovered from captured documents and consequently prevented from taking place with the arrest of an insurgent directly involved in the plan was the projected disruption of the Independence Day celebration last June 12.

General Ramos identified the insurgent ACP officers and members arrested and now undergoing tactical interrogation as follows:

Ramon Veluz, head of ACP Strike Team I and member of the military subcommission of the regional party committee for Manila-Rizal (RPCMR); Antonio Robles, head of ACP Strike Team II and wanted for violation of RA 1700 (the Anti-Subversion Law); Jose Papa and Danilo Luis Mariano, both ACP political officers; Raquel Edralin Tiglao, head of the united front and finance commission and wanted for violation of RA 1700; Rigoberto Tiglao, head of the RPCMR organizational department; Roberto Sanvictores and Rodolfo Laurente, ACP regular members; Lidovina Perry, ACP armed explosives expert; George Parang and Jose Asuncion Jr., ACP and RPCMR finance commission members; Manuel Navarro, Rogelio Cabrera, and Percival Seno, RPCMR technical

staff members; Generoso Garcia, head of the ACP reserve team; Federico Teves, regional commission member; Valentin Muceros and Romulo Asuncion, ACP regular members; Cipriano Sanidad and Benito Tiamzon, members of the RPCMR research and propaganda bureau; and May Villanueva, courier.

They were arrested by raiding teams composed of combined elements of the 5th Constabulary Security Unit and the National Intelligence and Security Authority (NISA).

The PC and NISA agents established from documents seized in the raids the target personalities the ACP had marked for liquidation and the sabotage and espionage missions which its members had conducted or planned to undertake in the Greater Manila-Rizal complex.

The ACP members have had extensive training in the use of explosives and in chemical sabotage techniques, intelligence agents discovered.

Among their paraphernalia which had been confiscated were poison darts tipped with cyanide and a deadly powder which they called "el tor." When mixed with food or drinks, the powder would cause instant death, it was said.

The group too was well organized and well financed. It

had analysts and researchers and its members occupied plush, air-conditioned apartments. Some of the men were even engaged in legitimate business ostensibly to raise funds and to serve as fronts for their activities.

One such member, intelligence agents revealed, was Jose Asuncion Jr. Given P8,000 to start a sari-sari store, he opened his business establishment first in Makati, Rizal and then transferred it to the enlisted men's barrio in Fort Bonifacio presumably to spy on military activities.

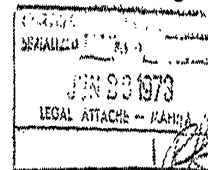
General Ramos gave full credit to concerned citizens and the law abiding sector of society who are now cooperating with law enforcement agencies more than ever before and furnishing information about subversive elements who lurk in their communities.

He said that in the raids conducted by the PC and NISA teams in Manila, Makati, Quezon City, Marikina, Mandaluyong, Pasig, Pasay city, Malabon, Taytay, and Valenzuela, the residents of the various communities gave their full support in putting and end to the government agents.

After the operations were concluded, many still came forward to give their assurances of continuing cooperation in putting an end to subversive activities.

PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS, JUNE 27, 1973

165-88 23



FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

7 high ranking RP Reds captured

MILITARY intelligence agents captured recently seven ranking members of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its military arm, the New People's Army, including one of the four insurgents who have been labeled as among the most wanted men in the country.

The top man among the seven, who were arrested in a series of raids conducted in safe houses in Isabela and in Greater Manila, is Juanito M. Canlas who is also known by the aliases Commander Melchor, Popy, and Norling.

Canlas is one of the four men on whose heads the government has placed a price of P150,000. The others are CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison, NPA head Bernabe Buscayno



CANLAS. DIEGO
alias Commander Dante, and NPA
training officer Victor Corpuz, a
renegade PC lieutenant.

A MEMBER of the CPP's central
committee, Canlas is secretary of the
Northern Luzon party committee
and executive secretary of the

(Please turn to Page 2)

(Indicate page, name of
newspaper, city and state.)

"Philippine Daily Express"
Manila, Philippines

Date: 1/23/76
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

105-88-30

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 23 1976	
FBI - MANILA	

7 high ...

(From Page 1)

Cagayan Valley - CPP regional operational command.

Col. George Abando, spokesman of the defense department, identified the other top dissidents captured by the government operatives as Cesario Digno alias Marcing, Along, and Pidong, also a member of the CPP central committee who carried a P40,000 price for his capture dead or alive; Carmelito Valdez alias Carding and Tawawit, a platoon leader of the Northern Luzon operational command who carried a P10,000 reward for his capture; Francisca Reboza alias Diana, a department secretary of the CPP cultural and educational group who had an P8,000 price for her capture; and three others identified only as Ka Benny, Ka Jacky and Ka Doming.

The government agents also seized several assorted firearms and subversive documents in the raids.

The captured dissidents revealed to authorities the plan of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA to unite and mobilize students, intellectuals, the peasantry, laborers, squatters and religious and other civic elements to undermine and eventually overthrow the government through force and violence.

The revelations also confirmed reports that the CPP central committee held its annual meeting or plenum somewhere in the mountainous area of the Zambales-Tarlac-Pampanga boundary some time in December. It was participated in by Canlas and Diego together with other CPP leaders, namely: Sison, Corpuz, Buscayno, Jose Luncta, Juliet Sison, Saturnino Ocampo, Renato Casipe, Juanito Rivera, Ignacio Capesgan and Rodolfo Salas.

THE AGENDA of the CPP plenum included the augmentation of financial resources of the subversive movement, increasing mass support for the party, the reorganization of the leadership of some regional commands, the procurement of more firearms and explosives, expansion of zone guerillas, assassination of ranking government officials and utilizing all outlets and sectors including the students, intellectuals, the peasantry, laborers and religious and civic elements to foment agitation, propaganda and mass action, especially in the urban centers.

The two arrested dissident leaders also revealed that the party had to rely more on homemade firearms and explosive devices fashioned out of locally available materials after the government foiled the surreptitious entry of high-powered and foreign-made firearms and ammunition aboard the *mv Karagatan* at Diguoy Point, Palanan, Isabela, in 1972, and dismantled an extensive arms smuggling and distribution network in 1974, after the *mv Andrea* sank in the China Sea.

Page 2 of article

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

operators are authorized to operate, the number of units they actually operate, the average number of units under repair daily and the number of units they have junked. Observers said that compliance with this new requirement might not be easy for the operators for it would take time for them to accomplish.

Asuncion admitted that the BOT does not have ample statistics from which it would base a decision on petitions for fare hikes.

THE BPW meanwhile revealed that none of the 344 electric firms it has authorized to operate in the country has filed a petition for rate increase.

The country's major electric firms, however, need not apply for rate increases. The latest rate increase granted to them by the BOT contains fuel adjustment and currency exchange clauses.

Under the fuel adjustment clause, an electric company merely manifests to the BPW that it will apply the clause whenever the price of bunker oil fluctuates.

Under the currency exchange adjustment clause, the company also files a manifestation with the BOT that it would apply the clause, whenever the dollar-peso rate fluctuates.

The board of telecommunications (BOTEL) also revealed that none of the telegraph and other wire communications companies operating in the country has applied for rate increases.

MEANWHILE, officials of the Philippine National Oil Company and the Greater Manila Federation of Jeepney Operators and Drivers yesterday reported they have finalized the mechanics of a special roadside loan assistance program,

P18 minimum

their minimum wage.

OCA SAID the wage increase would enable the workers to cushion the impact of the increasing cost of living brought about by worldwide economic recession and the recent oil price hike.

He said the prices of basic commodities had trebled since the present P8 minimum wage was set in 1970.

seized



DE LEON:

Manila. Subsequently, the government expected delivery of explosives from NPA leader in Isabela, mentioned the captured letter, written by a top explosives and incendiary bombs. A factory explosives, blasting caps, military research department, even The manual, prepared by the CP Philippines. Movement in People's War in the entitled "Manual for the Explosive

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"Daily Express"

1/24/76

Manila, Philippines

Date: 1/24/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

125-88-3

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JAN 24 1976	
FBI - MANILA	

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

6 more top Reds nabbed in raids

Explosives, guns seized

ANOTHER ranking official of the Communist Party of the Philippines and five other insurgents were arrested by military authorities during a series of raids in Metro Manila, the defense department announced yesterday.

Those arrested were identified as Roger Posadas, former University of the Philippines physics professor and head of the CPP military and explosive movement, and Guillermo de Leon, said to be a CPP electronics expert. The names of the four others were not immediately available.

The arrest of Posadas and his five companions brought to 13 the number of CPP and New People's Army members who have fallen into government hands during raids in Isabela and Metro Manila during the past 48 hours.

THE DEFENSE department said the capture of Posadas' group was prompted by the revelations of Juanito Canlas, regional CPP secretary for Northern Luzon, and Cesario Diego, CPP secretary for Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino provinces, on their possible whereabouts.

Canlas and Diego, along with five other CPP members, were nabbed only the other day.

According to the defense department, the CPP military record department and explosive movement, headed by Posadas, is a group of



POSADAS:
Explosives expert



DE LEON:
Electronics expert



(Please turn to Page 2) THE CAPTURED explosives paraphernalia, guns and bullets.

All gov't men subject
to performance audit

to conduct the performance audit to

UP students,
cops clash
in Diliman

TEN STUDENTS of the

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7-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Beauty queen, 7 other top RP Reds fall

Guns, bullets seized in raids

A FORMER beauty queen described as the head of the finance alliance group of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its military arm, the New People's Army, in Southern Mindanao and five others were captured recently by government agents in a series of raids in Cagayan de Oro City.

The raids followed the arrest of eight CPP/NPA leaders and followers last month.

The department of national defense identified those arrested as:

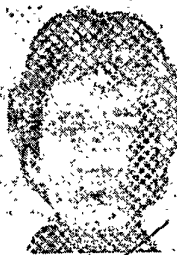
• NELIA SANCHEZ, the 1971 Miss Queen of the Pacific. She went underground in 1974 after leaving a job in a car distributing firm in



NELIA SANCHEZ
as Queen of the Pacific
Davao City.



NELIA SANCHEZ
after her arrest



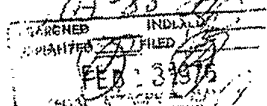
MACARIO TIW
CPP research director

urban coordinating committee,
North Central Mindanao.

• MENANDRO VILLANUEVA

• MACARIO TIW, alias Jerry, Andy, research director of the CPP/NPA in Mindanao and chairman,

(Please turn to Page 2)



Guns, bullets seized in raids

(From Page 1)

alias. Dennis, Ledesma, Dexter, Dey, Drake. — chairman, youth and student group, North Central Mindanao urban committee, and chairman, Cagayan de Oro City committee.

• **JOAQUIN TIMOGTIMOG** alias Rudy, Ramiro, Jack, Quin — member, finance committee and courier, East Mindanao front.

• **REBECCA JULITO** alias Elvie Ramiro, Olga, Elvie Mendoza, member, finance committee, North Central Mindanao urban coordinating group, and chairman, educational department, Cagayan de Oro City committee.

• **ERIC NACASABOG** alias Ibog — head, propaganda organizing team of Tagoloan, Misamis Oriental.

• **ALSO CAPTURED** were Ronulo de la Rosa and Ruben Salcedo, both of Cagayan de Oro City.

The DND said subversive documents were seized from the suspects.

• **GOVERNMENT** operations against the local communist movement were launched following the confirmation of reports that the CPP central committee held its annual meeting or plenum last December somewhere in the Zambales-Tarlac-Pampanga boundary.

THE PLENUM was participated in by CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison, NPA head Bernabe Buscayno/alias "Kumander Dante," Victor Corpus, Jose Luneta, Juliet Sison, Satur Ocampo, Renato Casipe, Juanito Rivera, Juanito Canlas, Cesario Diego, Ignacio Capepsan, and Rodolfo Salas.

Luneta, third-ranking member of the CPP central committee, together with top CPP propagandist Satur Ocampo, Canlas, Diego and several

other top CPP/NPA officials were nabbed by government operatives in separate raids in Northern and Central Luzon and Metro Manila area last month.

Also captured last month was Roger Posadas, head of the CPP explosives movement.

THE DND said revelations made by the captured CPP/NPA leaders during investigation by government authorities confirmed CPP/NPA efforts to intensify operational and propaganda activities to undermine and eventually overthrow the government by force and violence.

Those captured also disclosed the efforts of the subversive movement to unite and mobilize students, intellectuals, the peasantry, laborers, squatters and religious and civic sectors and all disgruntled groups.

The aim is to agitate the people through propaganda and mass action, especially in the urban centers, and to foment public disorder, the suspects told the probers.

CAPTURED dissident leaders said the CPP plenum also included in its agenda the augmentation of financial resources for the movement, increasing mass support for the party, the reorganization of the leadership of some regional commands, the procurement of more firearms and explosives, expansion of zone guerillas and the assassination of ranking government officials.

The DND said these disclosures by CPP officials prompted government operatives to intensify surveillance efforts in the Mindanao region, particularly in the Davao and Zamboanga provinces and Cagayan de Oro City.

This led to the capture of Tiu, Sancho and other ranking officers of the CPP in the North Central Mindanao region, the DND said.

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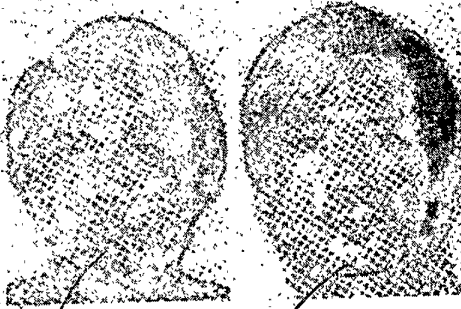
No. 3 man in CPP, ex-newsman fall

THE DEFENSE department disclosed yesterday the arrest of the third-ranking member of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines and a former newspaperman who became one of the top propagandists of the CPP.

The two were captured in the course of ongoing covert military operations in Greater Manila and in North-eastern Luzon.

A report to President Marcos and Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile identified the latest CPP officers to be

accounted for as:
• Jose Luneta alias Pepsi, Balog, Tolits, Lito, and Pilo, the No. 3 man in the CPP hierarchy after CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison and Bernabe



LUNETA

Ocampo

Buscayno alias Commander Dante, head of the CPP's military arm, the New People's Army. A member of

(Please turn to Page 2)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"Philippines Sunday
Express"

Manila, Philippines

Date: 1/25/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

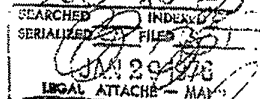
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or

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No. 3 man in CPP, ex-newsman fall

(From Page 1)

the executive committee and the party's deputy secretary for education, Luneta had a P60,000 price on his head.

• Satur Ocampo, alias Allen, a former business associate editor of the defunct *Manila Times*. Also a member of the central committee and director of the CPP's national press bureau, he carried a P20,000 reward for his capture.

THREE OTHER members of the CPP education bureau were arrested together with Luneta. Their names were not mentioned in the report.

Luneta and Ocampo were considered the top propaganda and educational men of the local communist movement and the closest to CPP chairman Jose Ma. Sison because of their vital roles in the subversive propaganda effort.

Both handled the publication of "Ang Bayan" and "Bagong Malayang Pilipino," official organs of the movement.

Luneta also assisted Sison in major political decisions, running a revolutionary school and conducting political indoctrination for CPP members.

Luneta is the highest ranking CPP official so far captured by government operatives in sustained operations launched against CPP leaders and members. A total of 48 leaders and members of the movement have been accounted for in the series of raids conducted in Cagayan Valley, Central Luzon and the Greater Manila area.

AMONG those earlier captured were: Juanito Canlas, another member of the CPP central

committee, secretary of the CPP Cagayan Valley regional operational command; Cesario Diego, also a member of the CPP central committee, party secretary for the Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino provinces and former commanding officer of the 3rd red company of the Northern Luzon regional operational command (NLROC); Roger Posadas, former University of the Philippines professor and head of the military research and explosives movement of the CPP; Guillermo de Leon, chief of the electronics group under Posadas; Carmelito Valdez, vice commanding officer of "A" company, NLROC; and Francisco Reboza, department secretary of the cultural and educational group of the NLROC.

Investigators gathered that Luneta was mainly responsible for coordinating the second annual meeting or plenum of the CPP central committee held somewhere in the Zambales-Tarlac-Pampanga boundary last December and participated in by CPP chairman Jose Maria Sison, New People's Army chief Bernabe Buscayno alias "Kumander Dante", Victor Corpus, Juliet Sison, Satur Ocampo, Renato Casipe, Juanito Rivera, Ignacio Capegasan, Rodolfo Salas and other CPP Leaders.

LUNETA and Ocampo confirmed that the CPP annual meeting tackled programs designed to reorganize and revitalize the movement. These included reorganization of the leadership of some regional commands, expansion of zone guerrillas, increasing financial and mass support for the party, procurement of more firearms and explosives, assassination campaigns

against ranking government officials and closing the ranks with all anti-government forces, including students, intellectuals, laborers, farmers, religious and civic elements as well as all groups harboring anti-administration sentiments to generate agitation/propaganda and mass action, especially in the Greater Manila area and other urban centers.

They also revealed that some members of the CPP central committee are in the Greater Manila area to monitor protest activities and check on the effectiveness of their plans. They claimed that a number of local communist cadres have been fielded to exploit mass actions as an effective and immediate means to create an atmosphere of public disorder and discontent.

Luneta, 31, holds a bachelor's degree in political science and a master's degree in public administration from the University of the Philippines. His involvement with the CPP started with his membership in the Kabataang Makabayan. He was appointed member of the central committee and head of the CPP education department in 1973. The following year, he was elected the secretary general of the movement.

Ocampo, 37, has a degree in journalism from the Manuel L. Quezon University and later took up undergraduate courses in the Lyceum of the Philippines. He joined the now defunct *Manila Times* as a business writer. At the time of his arrest, he was a member of the CPP central committee and at the same time secretary of the provincial urban committee.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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TO : FILE (105-88)

DATE: 6/30/76

FROM : LEGAT GORDON F. ELLISON

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SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES/
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPP/ML)
IS - PHILIPPINES



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A review of this report shows it to be detailed and well
written, [redacted] and
commenting on [redacted] to current political
matters.

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Sison, top Red leader, is captured

By QUEZON D. MANGAWANG

President Marcos announced officially yesterday the capture of Jose Maria Sison, the top Communist party leader in the country.

The President announced the details of Sison's capture at a 45-minute press conference in Malacañang yesterday afternoon.

Sison, together with his wife, Juliet Delima Sison, was apprehended in San Fernando, La Union, at 2:45 a.m. on Nov. 10.

Captured with them in the same operation were three others identified as:

1. Ramon Esberto y Reynoso, alias Noel Mina, driver and courier of Sison.
2. Ester Ceniza y Salazar, alias Evelyn Mina, wife of Esberto, and also a courier.
3. Sylvia Sales y Orsolino, alias Rosa-

rio Gonzales or Charo, typist and underground housekeeper.

The President disclosed that Juliet Sison is also a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The three others were identified as staff members of the national executive committee of the communist party.

Sison, whose official designation is chairman of the central committee of the CPP, his wife, and the others were captured by Constabulary intelligence operatives in sitio Pagdalagan, San Fernando, the capital town of La Union.

According to the President, the capture was effected "without a shot being fired and without any unnecessary

(Turn to page 1A, col. 3)

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"Bulletin Today"
11/20/77
Manila, Philippines

Date: 11/20/77
Edition:
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SISON

(Cont'd. from page 1)

violence upon his (Sison's) person."

Answering questions by Malacañang and foreign correspondents, the President:

1. Said Sison's capture left the membership of the CPP central committee to only six, four of whom are outside the country. He said the leadership of the CPP had been whittled down to the third echelon.

2. Said documents captured with Sison listed down the open and secret supporters of the Communist party in the Philippines.

3. Said Sison confirmed a number of intelligence reports and mentioned several names which were believed to be members or supporters of the CPP.

4. Denied speculations that Sison was subjected to torture. This was confirmed by Sison himself who signed a statement dated Nov. 18 stating among other things that "no promises or threats have been made to me and no force or pressure of any kind have been used against me."

5. Denied reports that Sison was offered a government job.

6. Said that the cream-colored Volkswagen reportedly being used by Sison and which was found parked outside the house where he was captured, was registered in the name of the Carmelite fathers. The car has plate No. C-493.

7. Said that Sison is the same person known by the nom de guerre "Amado Guerrero."

8. Said captured documents indicate the CPP is receiving support outside the country.

Asked about the possibility of an alliance between the communists and certain religious quarters, the President cited the organization of the so-called National Democratic Front whose avowed purpose was to bring under one umbrella all the opposition to the existing regime.

The President also expressed his opinion that nobody in the CPP could ever replace Sison.

He also described as exaggerated the claim of the CPP that it has a membership all over the Philippines. According to the CPP claims, it has some 3,000 armed men. The President said that 1,000 would be a more realistic estimate.

The President said that of the original 26 members of the central committee of the CPP, 15 are already in government custody.

These 15, including former Lt. Victor Corpuz, were presented at 10 a.m. yesterday before the general military council at Fort Bonifacio. The President also met with the council members.

The President said five had been slain.

Thus, only six remain, four of whom are operating outside the country. He identified the other two as Roben Guevarra, who, he said, had been suspended, and Juanito Rivera, alias Commander Juaning.

The President said Sison's capture may have temporarily crippled the CPP but that "knowing the nature of the Community party, there will be an effort to replace all those who have been captured."

The President said he was able to talk with Sison, an Ilocano, right on the day of his capture. Now, 38, Sison was born in Cabugao, Ilocos Sur, on Feb. 1939. He joined the CPP in 1962.

He finished his elementary schooling at the Cabugao Elementary school, his secondary education at Ateneo de Manila and Letran, and college education at the University of the Philippines.

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